



सत्यमेव जयते

Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

MAHATMA GANDHI IN MAHARASHTRA **(1915 to 1946)**

(Edited by : Dr. B. G. Kunte)

Volume IX

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State and Government of India Records)

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 31 March 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

PREFACE

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to assist and collect material the Central Board of Editors requested all the State Governments to set up State Committees in every State. Accordingly, the then Bombay State formed the Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in November 1953. This committee worked for a few years and was dissolved in September 1956. It however recommended to the State Government to continue the office and publish the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. The Committee with late Prof. M. R. Palande as Executive Secretary brought out two volumes on Source Material, one dealing with the period from 1818 to 1885 and the other from 1885-1920. Prof. N. R. Phatak took charge of the Committee as Executive Secretary in 1959. Under his guidance three volumes were published pertaining to Source Material on Mahatma Gandhi. In 1973 the office of the Committee was discontinued and the staff was merged with the Gazetteers Department which was entrusted with the task of completing the rest of the work. The department has so far completed the series in the Source Material pertaining to Mahatma Gandhi by bringing out four additional volumes. The department now proposes to bring out the Source Material for the most crucial period in the Freedom Struggle, i.e., 1920-1947. It is envisaged to publish this vast Source Material contained in the records of Home Department, Inspector General of Police, Commissioner of Police, Archives etc. of the Government of Maharashtra in 15 to 20 volumes, covering subjects such as Civil Disobedience Movement, Khilafat, Quit India Movement, Revolutionary Activities in Maharashtra, Revolutionary Activities in Vidarbha, Revolutionary Activities in Marathwada and political parties and personalities during freedom struggle etc. These volumes will also contain material from the Archives of the Government of Goa, Daman & Diu on the freedom struggle in Goa *vis-a-vis* Maharashtra and from the Archives of the Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh pertaining to the districts of Marathwada and Vidarbha regions of the present State of Maharashtra, which were formerly parts of these respective States. The material for the present volume has been compiled from the records of the office of the Commissioner of Police, Home Department, and Department of Archives etc. and the volume is entitled "Mahatma Gandhi in Maharashtra ". The volume covers the period from Gandhiji's arrival in India in the year 1915 upto 1946. The early period of Gandhiji's arrival, as reflected from the Government records, shows the gradual rise of Gandhiji to leadership. During the period 1922 to 1929, Mahatmaji was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The period from 1929 to 1931 deals with the

famous Salt Satyagraha by Mahatmaji at Dandi, as well as Mahatmaji's participation in the Round Table Conference at London and subsequent return to India and his imprisonment in the Yeravada Central Prison; his efforts towards achieving unity amongst Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Communities, and towards the eradication of untouchability.

Reference is also found in the volume to the names of the persons who either sought interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, or who were called for interview by Mahatmaji. It also reflects the adamant Government policy that prisoners cannot ask for a particular work as a matter of right though Gandhiji thought it imperative to safeguard the rights of political prisoners. This volume also throws light on as to how much Mahatmaji was interested in Harijan welfare and how widely he travelled to collect funds for their welfare. The present publication also contains a fund of information on various subjects and personalities that help reader to understand the political situation of the times and how a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi reacted to it. The image that one gets of Mahatma Gandhi is that of a man of the poor and down-trodden masses.

In the compilation of this volume, I was assisted by Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A., Ph.D., Deputy Editor; Shri M. H. Ranade, B.A., Administrative Officer; Shri S. K. Khilare, B.Com., LL.B., Research officer; Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A., Superintendent; Sarvashri K. Z. Raut, M.A., D. J. Navadkar, M.A., S. S. Gaikwad and R. S. Urade, Research Assistants, Shri D. A. Tendulkar, Assistant and Shri S. G. Shetye and Smt. U. S. Bhagwat, typists to all of whom my thanks are due. I am also thankful to the Commissioner of Police and the other staff in the records section of the office of the Commissioner of Police. My thanks are also due to Shri S. A. Sapre, Director of Printing and Stationery, Government of Maharashtra and Shri G. D. Dhond, Manager, Government Central Press, Charni Road, Bombay for the expeditious manner in which the present volume was brought out. I am also thankful to my parent department viz.. General Administration Department for the kind consideration it has always shown to me in the execution of this important work.

BOMBAY.

B. G. KUNTE,

15th August, 1979.

Executive Editor and Secretary.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT 1915

Page 26, Para. 41 (a)(b).

(a) *Bombay, January 11th.*—The *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 11th instant has an account of the reception given to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and of an interview with him on his arrival from England by the mail of the 9th (January) idem.

Gandhi receives numerous letters, inviting him to private receptions, but I hear that he has declined them all with the exception of two public ones.

It is said that he intends paying Bal Gangadhar Tilak visit.

SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, BOMBAY

January 12, 1915

A public reception was accorded by the elite of Bombay to Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi at Mount Petit, on January 12, 1915, over 600 distinguished citizens being present, including Europeans. The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta,¹ who presided, warmly welcomed the guests of the evening.

Replying to the toast, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not know that the right word, would come to him to express the feelings that had stirred within him that afternoon. He had felt that he would be more at home in his own Motherland than he used to be in South Africa among their own countrymen. But during the three days that they had passed in Bombay, they had felt—and the thought he was voicing the feelings of his wife, too—that they were much more at home among those indentured Indians, who were the truest heroes of India. They felt that they were indeed in strange company here in Bombay, and that reminded him of one thing said to him by a great Englishman, namely, that duty would be merited (sic) at the last.

In what he had done, he had done nothing beyond his duty and it remained to be seen how far he had succeeded in doing his duty. That was not a mere lip expression but he asked them to believe sincerely that these were his feelings. He felt all that his political leaders had done for him, all that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had done for him and he could recall many an incident when he, i.e. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, had cheered him up while he was a young briefless barrister in his disappointments. He had had the honour of receiving instruction, guidance, and advice from many other distinguished countrymen of his own, and would he not be ungrateful if he

¹(1845-1915). One of the founders of the Indian National Congress, its President in 1890 and 1909; *vide* Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 1, p. 386.

did not do what they told him to do? He had paid his respects to the Grand Old Man of India Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji¹ that morning. His life was an inspiration to him and in that connection he dared not leave out one name, that of his guide—at least his political leader, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, (Cheers). His life was more than an inspiration to him. Mr. Gokhale had been to him more than a brother. He also must not omit to mention the deep debt that he owed to all his countrymen, let alone the memory of his revered parents, who taught him to respect them and through them the whole country. They were paying these regards to them, who were but poor creatures, while the real heroes were the indentured labourers. He wished to remind them of the indentured Indian that staggered him in jail. When he met that Indian, he did not know what inspired the latter to go to jail, and what inspired him to utter the words he did utter. He told the Indian that there was no occasion for him to go there and that he had never advised such of his countrymen as Harbat Singh² to go there. But that old Indian said that he could not restrain himself from going there when he saw his poor brothers and sisters go there for the honour of the country. How could he leave himself out he asked, and added that he wanted to die there. They were alive and he was dead. That man was the hero and there were many of his type. If he had lived and come out to India, they would not have noticed him, perhaps he too would not have noticed him. All honour was due to the memory of Harbat Singh.

They had also honoured Mrs. Gandhi as the wife of the great Gandhi. He had no knowledge of the great Gandhi, but he could say that she could tell them more about the sufferings of women who rushed with babies to jail and who had now joined the majority than he could.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi appealed to them to accept the services of himself and his wife for, he said they had come to render such service as God would enable them to do. They had not come to receive big entertainments like that because they did not think they were worthy of such presents. He felt that they would only spoil them if ever by such action a thought crossed their minds that they had done something to deserve such a big *tamasha* made in their honour. He, however, thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself most sincerely for the great honour done to them that afternoon and he hoped to receive the blessings of the whole country in their endeavour to serve the Motherland. Hitherto, he said, they had known nothing of his failures. All the news that they had received related to his successes. Here they would now see them in the naked light and would see their faults, and anticipating such faults and failures, he asked them to overlook them, and with that appeal, he said, they as humble servants would commence the service of their country. He again thanked them most sincerely for the very great honour done to himself and his wife.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 13th January 1915. Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XIII, p. 5.].

¹(1825-1917), the first Indian to be elected member of the British Parliament in 1893; President of the Indian National Congress thrice, in 1886, K;93 and 1906; author of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*; *vide* CWMG, Vol. X, p. 313.

² An old man of 75 from Uttar Pradesh; *vide* " Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21st April 1915.

(b) *Bombay, January 11th.*—A meeting of the Bombay National Union was held yesterday (10th January)* evening in honour of M. K. Gandhi, B. G. Tilak was invited by S. V. Lalit to attend, but he refused to do so unless Gandhi said he would not object to his doing so. Lalit went back and asked Gandhi who said Tilak would be welcome. Tilak accordingly attended. C. V. Vaidya presided, and amongst others present were Joseph Baptista, M. G. Deshmukh, D. D. Sathe, Y. V. Nene, S. V. Lalit, and others, some 150 in all. The meeting was more or less spontaneous and only decided upon in the morning.

SPEECH AT NATIONAL UNION MEETING AT BOMBAY

January 13, 1915

At a meeting convened by the Bombay National Union at Hira Baug (Bombay) on the 13th instant to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak¹ was present, though no formal invitation was sent to him. The meeting was attended by about 250 persons, Mr. Tilak addressing the gathering said that they were only doing their duty in honouring Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, as they had fought for the honour of India in a distant land. He said that India ought to produce more men and women of the self-sacrificing spirit of the honoured guests, and impressed upon the audience that this was the lesson they had to learn from the career of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's speech was colourless and formal; he expressed the gratefulness of the Indians in South Africa to the mother country which contributed lavishly to the fund² for their relief during the late struggle. He said it was a pleasure to meet Mr. Tilak in Bombay as he fully intended to pay his respects to him when he visited Poona.

Mr. Baptista said that it did not matter whom Mr. Gandhi selected as his *guru* (this refers to a remark made by Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Gokhale was his *guru*), so long as he always held before him the ideals of honour and self respect, as he had done throughout his life. Both he and Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji referred to the gallant conduct of the Indian troops in support of the cause of right in the present war.

[CWMG. VOI XIII, P. 7]

Bombay Government Police Abstracts, 1915, p. 40, Para 60. Page 40, Para. 60 (a), (b), (c), (d)

(a) *Bombay, January 19th.*—The Bombay National Union convened a meeting of its members to meet Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi at the Hira Baug on the 13th instant (January). Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya presided. The following, amongst others, were noticed:

Dr. Dinkar Dhondo Sathe, Sitaram Vishnu Lalit, Yeshwant Vishnu-Nene, Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, Ali Muhammad Bhimji, Tapidas Dulabhdas Sanghvi, Kashinath Waman Lele, G. N. Potdar, Dhondiraj Thengari, Dr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Dr. Shridhar Chintaman Jog.

*Mr. B. G. Tilak came to Bombay on 12th (*vide* Police Abstract of 1915) A meeting of the Bombay National Union was held on 13th to honour Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Tilak attended the meeting. It is, therefore, not possible that a meeting took place on 10th as per Police report.

¹"Lokamanya" Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); Indian patriot, Political and scholar: *vide* Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. II, p. 380.

²Passive Resistance Fund: *vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit" 16th June 1915.

Page 84-85, Para 152.

Poona, February 16th. M. K. Gandhi was entertained by (1) the members of the Deccan Sabha in Phadke's wada on the evening of the 11th, (2) the members of the Extremist Circle at the Sarvajanik Sabha Hall on the evening of the 12th, only members of the Sarvajanik Sabha being present, B. G. Tilak was of course present, (3) the citizens of Poona City at the Kirloskar Theatre at 5-00 p.m. on the 13th Sardar Naoroji Pudumjt. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. H. N. Wadia spoke on the occasion. Mr. Gandhi in returning thanks hardly alluded to his past experiences and said nothing of his future intentions. About 8,000 were present, including students, male and female, and with the exception of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, all the leading lights of Poona City. Tilak arrived a little later and was vociferously cheered for quite 2 or 3 minutes by the student portion of the audience.

Mrs. Gandhi was given a reception by the Poona ladies in Napa Wada buildings at 4-00 p.m. on the 13th.

I hear that Gandhi has resolved to join the Servants of India Society and to settle down wherever Mr. Gokhale wishes to post him.

SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, BOMBAY

January 14, 1915

The premises of the Servants of India Society's¹ Home in Bombay were tastefully decorated for the entertainment that was given to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on the evening of 14th January by the members of the Bombay Branch of the Society and by some of those who were associated with it as its helpers, supporters and co-workers. Among those present were Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey, Sir Jagmohandas, Shet Dani, Shet Hansraj Pragjee, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Lady Jagmohandas. Mrs. Sonabai Jayker, Mrs. Bahadurjee and others. On the arrival of Mr and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Devadhar spoke on behalf of those that were assembled.

Mr. Gandhi, then, in the course of a brief speech, said that he was proud to have seen so many men and women who helped the Servants of India Society, which would soon be the sphere of his work. He had accepted Mr. Gokhale as his political leader and guide and he considered those people fortunate who had the privilege of being associated with Mr. Gokhale in their work. He would go over the country for one year and. after studying things for himself, he would decide his line of work. In conclusion, he thanked all the ladies and gentlemen, on his. behalf as well as on behalf of his wife for the honour they did them.

Sir Bhalchandra garlanded Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Ramabai garlanded Mrs. Gandhi. After the distribution of flowers, etc., the whole assembly partook (of) refreshments.

[Indian Opinion, 10th March 1915.

CWMG, Vol. XIII p. 8.]

Page 518, Para. 774.

S. B. Bombay, August 7th.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi was present at the 15th Bombay Provincial Conference held in Poona on the 10th and 11th, July 1915. He seconded the IVth resolution on Mr. Gokhale's death.

¹Founded by Hon. G. K. Gokhale in 1905 with headquarters in Poona. the members being life-workers in the service of the nation.

SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, POONA¹

July 11, 1915

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters,

Perhaps, it is impudent on my part to add anything to the feeling words that have been spoken by Mrs. Ranade. The fact that she is the widow of the master's master adds solemnity to the proceedings, which I can only mar by any remarks I may make. But, claiming as I do to be one of Mr. Gokhale's disciples, you will forgive me if I say a few words which are personal titbits.

It was on board the Cronprinz some years ago,² that I found myself in the master's company together with a common friend, Mr. Kallenbach,³ a German. Let me say that all Germans are not friends, nor are all German soldiers friends.⁴ Mr. Kallenbach is a German and soldier, but I feel that no purer-minded person to-day walks the earth in Europe than Mr. Kallenbach. He was accepted as a worthy companion by Mr. Gokhale, who used to play with him the game of *quoits*. Mr. Gokhale had just then, during the voyage from England to Cape Town, picked up that game, and he very nearly gave Mr. Kallenbach a beating in the game. I fancy that was a drawn game between them, and let me add, Mr. Kallenbach, so far as I am aware, is one of the cleverest players of *quoits* in South Africa. Just after that we had our meals at which Mr. Gokhale was talking to me with reference to the result of the game. He thought I never indulged in such sports and that I was against them. He expostulated with me in kind words, and said, "Do you know why I want to enter into such competition with Europeans? I certainly want to do at least as much as they can do for the same of our country. It is said, rightly or wrongly, that we are an inferior people in many matters, and so far as I can do it" and this he said in all humility "I certainly want to show that we are at least their equals, if not their superiors."

That was one incident. On board the same steamer, we were engaged in a hot discussion in connection with our dear motherland, and he was mapping out for me, as a father would for his child, a programme that I was to follow in India if I ever happened to see the motherland again, and in connection therewith, there was one thing he said: "We lack in India character; we want religious zeal in the political field." Shall we then follow the spirit of the master with the same thoroughness and the same religious zeal. So that we can safely teach a child politics? One of his missions in life, I think, was to inculcate the lesson that whatever we do, we should do with thoroughness. This it is not possible for us mortals to imitate in any degree of perfection. Whatever he did, he did with a

¹While seconding the following resolution moved by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade: "This Conference places on record its sense of profound grief at the irreparable loss the country and the Empire have sustained in the untimely and the universally mourned death of the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, than whom no more self-sacrificing and devoted patriot and no more far-sighted statesman ever consecrated his life in the cause of his country."

²In 1912.

³Gandhiji's co-worker in South Africa, who had placed at the disposal of the satyagrahis the Tolstoy Farm; *vide* Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. X, p. 262.

⁴During the First World War, Britain and, with her, India considered Germany as an enemy country.

religious zeal; that was the secret of his success. He did not wear his religion on his sleeve; he lived it. Whatever he touched, he purified; wherever he went, he recreated an atmosphere around him which was fragrant. When he came to South Africa, he electrified the people there not only by his magnificent eloquence but by the sincerity of his character and by the religious devotion with which he worked. What was that devotion? Ailing though he was, he was awake the whole night practically when he was to have seen General Smuts; he did so in order to prepare the case for his countrymen with a thoroughness that surprised the leader of the Boer Government. What was the result? The result was that he got the promise from the South African Government that the £ 3 tax would be gone in a few years, and the £ 3 tax is no more. It is no more there to grind down so many thousands of our countrymen. Mr. Gokhale is dead, but it is possible for you and for me to make his spirit live in us and through us. ("Hear, hear.") We are about to pass resolutions which would expect us, the chosen representatives, or, it may be, the self-elected representatives of the people to do certain things. Shall we discharge our trust with the master's devotion? The people we represent will base their verdict not upon our speeches but upon our actions, and how shall we act? We have a right to pass this resolution in the spirit of the master. With these words, I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Report of the Proceedings of the 15th Bombay Provincial Conference, July, 1915.

[CWMG. Vol. XIII. p. 116]

Page 718, Para. 1223.

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, November 6th. -Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture on the "indentured Labour question" at a public meeting held on the 28th October 1915 at the Empire Theatre, Bombay. under the auspices of the District Congress Committee connected with the Girgaum and Bhuleshwar wards.

Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola presided.

The lecturer said that the late Mr. Gokhale was the first to bring the Indentured labour question to the notice of the people of India, and some years ago in the Viceregal Council he moved a resolution recommending the total abolition of Indentured labour. This was after their troubles in South Africa had come to a head. Mr. Gokhale said it was a question which affected their national self-respect.

There was, however, now a serious difficulty in the way of the Viceroy. however, well-intentioned he might be. The report issued by Messrs. McNeill and Chimanlal. These gentlemen recommended that the system should be continued just as it was after certain conditions had been fulfilled. The conditions were that unsuitable emigrants male and female should be excluded, that the agreement should state clearly how the breaches of contract would be punished, that the proportions of females should be raised from 40 to 50 per cent; and that the present age-limit should be abolished.

He would explain to them the full significance of those conditions. The Commissioners' view was that this labour was not easy to obtain in India

Lord Sanderson's* Committee had somewhere stated that it was not the surplus nor the working people of India that became indentured labourers, but those who fell an easy prey to the blandishments of the recruiters. Several pages of the report were devoted to immorality. In the language of the report some of the women were prostitutes, and most of them unmarried, though kept by men. To talk of suitable recruits under such conditions was absurd. It was also recommended that the unduly rigorous provisions of the Ordinances should be expunged. The indentured labourer was bound hand and foot for five years. There was not likely to be any change in that condition. Labour could not fight against Capital as long as Capital was propped up by legislation. Much was said in the report of the Protector of Immigrants; but the Protector, who accepted the Planter's hospitality, was not likely to work against them. He could not be expected to rise above his human limitations as regards the disciplinary measures designed to keep those men under control. He could not believe that justice would be done even if, as suggested in the report, the Protector were to adjudicate in cases of complaints made by the Immigrants. There would be no check on the Protector's work. The two Commissioners also recommended that the indentured labourer should be allowed to redeem his indenture by payment of a graduated redemption fee. The Commissioners made a double error in this. In the first place, they presumed that the indentured labourer had sufficient freedom to collect sufficient funds for the purpose, and secondly, they presumed that the labourer had sufficient meanliness left in him to leave his employer. This condition was an impossible one. In recommending that "Registered marriages should be facilitated" the Commissioners were guilty of a lamentable want of imagination. If he were going with a harlot, should he have to marry her if she were to go before the Registering Officer and ask to marry him. That was not the way to conduct affairs in a civilised world.

In Natal the finger of scorn was pointed at their indentured countrymen. They could not rise to any position higher than a labourer or a pettifogging miserable trader. For this reason they declined to associate themselves with this system of indenture, because it reduced them from the position of their national self-respect. He did not charge the employers with any special degree of inhumanity, but he objected to the system because, however, protected it might be, the labourers would remain in a State bordering on slavery, a state which stunted the national growth and deprived them of their national dignity.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi. The proposal was seconded by Mr. Jehangir B. Petit who said that they had started in

*Minute by the Right honourable the Earl of Crewe, K. G.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointing the Committee. Appointed Lord Sanderson G.C.B., Lord Sandhurst G.C.S.I., Sir George Scott Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Hugh Bertram Cox, Esq., C.B., Wilfrid Ashley, Esq., M.P., Selwyn Howe Fremantle, Esq., Walter Devonshire Ellis, Esq., to be a Committee to consider the following questions: —

- (a) The general question of emigration from India to the Crown Colonies,
- (b) The particular colonies in which Indian immigration may be most usefully encouraged.
- (c) The general advantages to be reaped in each case
 - (i) by India itself;
 - (ii) by each particular Colony.

Reginald Herbert Griffin, Esq., to act as Secretary. 3rd March 1909. The Committee's report was submitted on 26th April 1910. CREWE.

Bombay, under the able advice and guidance of Mr. Gandhi, an association called: —

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the object of which, was to obtain for the people of India the full rights and privileges of the citizens of the British Empire. They had appropriated for the work of the Association the balance in the fund collected for Mr. Gandhi's campaign in South Africa. The Association's first step was to send Messrs. Pearson and Andrews to Fiji with a view to obtaining the abolition of the pernicious system of Indentured Labour.

The vote of thanks to the lecturer was passed with applause Secondly, they presumed that the labourer had sufficient meanliness left in him to leave his employer. This condition was an impossible one. In recommending that "Registered marriages should be facilitated" the Commissioners were guilty of a lamentable want of imagination. If he were living with a harlot, should he have to marry her if she were to go before the Registering Officer and ask to marry him. That was not the way to conduct affairs in a civilised world.

SPEECH ON INDENTURED INDIAN LABOUR AT BOMBAY¹

October 28, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, who was loudly cheered by the audience, said that the question of indentured labour was just now a topical question, because those true and real friends of India, Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, were conducting an enquiry² in Fiji. The Fiji Islands absorbed the largest number of indentured Indians at the present moment. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson were not the first to interest the Indians in this question but it was the deceased statesmen, Mr. Gokhale, who first impressed Indians with importance of their duties, in connection with this question. Mr. Gandhi here read the resolution³ introduced by Mr. Gokhale in the Viceregal Council and his speech⁴ upon it demanding the total abolition of the indenture system and commented upon it at some length. The resolution which Mr. Gokhale brought before the Council was defeated by a majority, though all⁵ the non-official members of the Council voted for the abolition. However much a benign and sympathetic Viceroy wished to remove this abominable system of indenture from the Indian Statute Book, there was a very serious difficulty in his way and that was the report by the two Commissioners who were sent by Lord Hardinge, namely, Messrs MacNeill and Chirnanlal⁶ which was contained in two bulky volumes. All might not care to wade through the rather dull pages of those volumes, but to him who knew what real indentured labour was they were of great interest. They might, however, take upon trust that the report recognised that indentured labour should continue just as it was, if certain conditions were fulfilled. Those conditions, Mr. Gandhi said, were impossible of fulfilment. And the

¹Under the auspices of the District Congress Committee at the Empire Theatre, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presiding.

²The results were published in their Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji.

³ Recommending prohibition of recruitment of indentured labour in India: *vide*-"Indenture or Slavery December, 1915.

⁴On March 4, 1912.

⁵22 in number.

⁶McNeill and Chimanlal were sent by the Indian Government to report on conditions prevailing in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji-Colonie where the indenture system was still permitted.

recommendations, which these two great Commissioners made, showed that they really could not seriously have meant that the system of indenture which existed today in Fiji, Jamaica, Guiana and other colonies should be continued a minute longer than was actually necessary. The speaker here referred to the previous Commission and said that the defects which Messrs. MacNeill and Chimanlal had pointed out were patent to all. Their report contained nothing new. But there was unofficial investigation on behalf of some philanthropic body in England some forty years ago, and in that book an unvarnished tale was given, which told in graphic language what were the hardships under the system.

In this connection, Mr. Gandhi quoted a statement made by the Prime Minister of Natal in which he said that the system of indenture was a most inadvisable thing and that the sooner it was terminated, the better for the indentured labourer and the employer. Lord Selborne said the same thing when he was the High Commissioner in South Africa: he said that it was worse for the employer than the employed, because it was a system previously near to slavery. Sir William Hunter¹ wrote a beautiful series of letters in 1895 when he first brought himself to study the system personally and compared the system of indenture, after due investigation to a slate bordering on slavery. On one occasion he used the expression 'semi-slavery'. Mr. Gandhi said if he erred in making these statements, he erred in Lord Selborne's company. And it was in connection with this system that these two worthy gentlemen, the Commissioners, had seen fit to report and advise the fulfilment of certain conditions which in the very nature of the contract were impossible of fulfilment. The conditions were that unsuitable emigrants be excluded; the proportion of females to males to be raised from 40 to 50 per cent. The speaker could not understand what they meant by "unsuitable emigrants" being excluded. The Commissioners themselves told them that it was not easy to find labour in India. India was not pinning to send her children out as semi-slaves. Lord Sanderson² stated that it was the surplus population from India that went out from dissatisfaction with the economic condition in India. But they must remember that there were 500 recruiting licences issued in the year 1907. Could they conceive the significance of the extraordinary state of things which required one recruiter to 17 labourers? The Colonial Governments had their sub-agents in India for this indentured labour to be collected. They were paid a sum of Rs. 25 for each coolie recruited, and this sum of Rs. 25 was divided between the recruiter and the sub-agent. Mr. Gandhi thought the mental state of those recruiters must be miserable, who could send so many of their countrymen as semi-slave. After having seen what the recruiting agents did and after having read the many gross misstatements they made, he was not surprised that thousands and thousands of their countrymen were becoming indentured labourers. The Commissioners devoted several pages to the immorality prevailing on the estates. It was not forty women for sixty men, but the statement was made that these men did not marry these women, but kept them and that many of these women were prostitutes.

¹(1840-1900), historian, an authority, on Indian affairs and author of Indian Empire; served in India for 25 years, was sympathetic to Indian aspirations; member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London.

²Chairman of the Committee appointed by the British Government in England to investigate conditions in the Crown Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji.

Mr. Gandhi said he would decline to send his children out of the country under such an indenture, if he was worthy of his salt. But thousands of men and women had gone. What did they think of that in India?

The conditions were that rigorous provisions should be either expunged from the Ordinances and that the Protector should control employers. As for the regulations made to protect these labourers, they could take it from him, Mr. Gandhi said, that there were a great many flaws in them and a coach and four could be easily driven through these. The aim of the rules was to make the employer supreme. Here was capital ranged against labour with artificial props for capital and not labour. Mr. Gandhi condemned the "protectors" of emigrants. They were men belonging to that very class to which employers belonged; they moved among them and was it not only natural that they should have their sympathies on the side of the employers? How was it then possible that they could do justice to the labourer against the employers? He knew many instances when magistrates had meted out justice to the indentured labourer, but it was impossible to expect such a thing from the Protectors of Emigrants. The labourer was bound hand and foot to the employer. If he committed an offence against his employer, he first of all had to undergo a course of imprisonment; then the days that the labourer had spent in the jail were added to his indenture and he was taken back to his master to serve again. The Commissioners had nothing to say against these rules. There was nobody to judge the Protector of Emigrants if he gave a wrong judgement. but in the case of the magistrate he could be criticised. Again, the Commissioners said that these prisoners should be put into separate Jails. But the Colonial Government would be bankrupt if they built Jails for hundreds of prisoners that were imprisoned. They were not able to build jails for the passive resisters. Then the Commissioners said that the labourer should be allowed to redeem his indenture by payment of a graduated redemption fee. They made a mistake in thinking him to be an independent man. He was not his own master. Mr. Gandhi said he had known of English girls, well educated, who were decoyed, and who were not indentured, unable to free themselves. How was it then possible for an indentured to do this? Then the Commissioners said the special needs of Indian children in the matter of primary education should receive consideration. As for education, Mr. Gandhi said, no doubt, some work of that kind was being done by some of the philanthropic missions, but nothing substantial was being done or could be expected. Mr. Balfour¹ compared the labourer under an indenture to soldier. But the soldier was a responsible man and he could rise to high position. But an indentured labourer remained a labourer. He had no privileges. His wife was also included under his disabilities, so also his son. In Natal the finger of scorn was pointed at these people. Never could an indentured Indian rise to a higher post than that of labourer. And what did the labourer bring when he returned to India? He returned a broken vessel, with some of the artificial and superficial signs of civilization, but he left more valuable things behind him. He might bring some sovereigns also with him. They should decline to perpetuate this hateful system of indenture because it robbed them of their national self-respect.

If they could consider well over what he had said, they would try and abolish the system in a year's time and this one taint upon the nation

¹Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930), British statesman, Conservative leader and Prime Minister.

would have gone and indentured labour would be a thing of the past. He wanted to remove the cause of the ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies. However protected that system might be, it still remained a state bordering upon slavery. It would remain, said Mr. Gandhi, a state based upon full-fledged slavery and it was a hindrance to national growth and national dignity.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 29th October 1915.

[CWMG Vol XIII, P. 130]

Page 130, Para. 259.

C.I.D. Bombay Presidency, February 25th.—A meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Gokhale's death was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona City, on the 19th instant.

There were about 2,000 persons present

Mr. H. A. Wadia, Bar-at-Law, presided.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi was the principal speaker. He said that it would be a matter of the greatest satisfaction to the Deccan Sabha, under whose auspices the meeting took place, and to all lovers of India, if some of them were to take on themselves for the next year a resumption of the activities of the deceased statesman. Gokhale's memory was worthy of such an effort. A narration of his manifold services to his country would fill many volumes. Gokhale's efforts on the South African question alone cost him ten years of life. He established his Servants of India Society for the purpose of spiritualizing India. For the sake of his countrymen he was prepared to undergo the severest hardships. The speaker said that he had toured the country during the past year in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Gokhale, and now without his advice to guide him he was a loss to know whether he was drifting in the right or the wrong direction. In the course of his travels he found that the country was vibrating with a passionate spirit of patriotism, but the bugbear of "Fear" loomed large on the horizon. Social endeavour was impeded by the overawing power of spiritual authority, and in the path of political activity lay the barrier of political authority. They were the slaves of circumstances, but they were themselves to blame. It had become impossible for them to voice in public the opinions uttered in their homes. The spiritual liberty of the people was usurped by the priests; in politics they were afraid to give expression to their views. This was a regrettable state of affairs and showed that they were lacking in backbone. Until they had driven out this craven spirit from their hearts, they were unworthy of undertaking the great charge bequeathed to them. The heroes of the past were still with them in spirit. Faith in the lives of the great departed, sincerity, humanity and patriotism would enable them to weather the storm and establish their country in its destined place among the nations of the world.

The president in thanking Mr. Gandhi for his address said that he was not prepared to say anything about the apprehensions and hopes which Mr. Gandhi had spoken of, but would merely mention that he did not agree with him. He had considerable experience of politics and entertained the brightest hopes for India's future. He assured them that Mr. Gandhi's apprehensions were misplaced. They would advance, not by leaps and bounds, but by slow and steady progress. The late Mr. Gokhale's rise to fame from a humble beginning was due to his indefatigable industry. He dedicated himself to the service of his country at the age of 18. For

20 years he devoted his life to the cause of education. In his consideration his country always stood first. His selflessness, spirituality and self sacrifice enabled him to rise to the pinnacle of greatness. It was a mistake to suppose that he was at times weak and compromising; in reality, he always stood by his guns. He fought not for the love of fighting, but because he considered it his duty. The object of celebrating his anniversary was to instruct the young in the many virtues that distinguished him.

The Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpe proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi and the Chairman.

Page 506, Para 888(H).

(a) *Bombay, June 26th.*—A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Empire Theatre on the evening of Saturday, the 24th June 1916, 'to uphold the Liberty of the Press and protest against the Press Act of 1910', under the auspices of the 'Indian Press Association'. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presided.

It was a very largely attended meeting. There were quite a few Hindu-Deccani and Gujarati ladies among the audience principal among them was the wife of the Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad with her daughters and daughters-in-law.

Messrs. Gandhi, Horniman and Jamnadas D. Dharamsey were received on arrival with loud cheers. In the case of Mr. Gandhi cheers were called for 'once more' by an occupant of one of the upper galleries.

Mr. Gandhi delivered his address in Gujarati, urging that, that was the true way of being faithful, to his motherland. There was no opposition to his predilection for his mother tongue raised at the time.

1916

Indenture System.

Page 907, Para 1460.

(Resolution No. 16). That this Conference strongly urges the necessity of the abolition of the Indenture System as early as possible, the system being a form of a slavery, which socially and politically debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of this country.

Proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Seconded by Mr. Imam Saheb, a Mohomedan from South Africa.

Supported by Mr. Javdekar (Dhulia.)

(Resolution No. 20). Levy of customs duties at Viramgam and other places on Kathiawar frontier.

This Conference brings to the Special notice of Government the. incom-venience, hardship and annoyance, caused to persons coming from Kathiawar into British Territory by levy of customs duties and especially by the stringency of the rules and manners of their enforcement for such levy at the Viramgam Railway Station and at other stations which border on Gujarat and earnestly prays for the removal of the levy at an early date.

1917

Page 620-21, para 940(L).

Bombay, September 4th.--The adjourned meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held on Sunday the 2nd instant in the Presidency Association rooms Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding.

A friend writes to me as follows on the subject:—

"On the proposal of the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas it was resolved to recommend to the All India Congress Committee that Sind should be treated as a separate province as regards the Congress and given the right to send its five delegates to the All-India Congress Committee and the Subjects Committee.

"On the proposal of Mr. N. M. Samarth it was resolved to affiliate the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to the Congress.

"After these two resolutions the question of passive resistance was taken up. The President said that the report on it being submitted by the Sub-Committee was divided into two parts. The latter part was out of order as it had nothing to do with the work entrusted to the Sub-Committee, so that portion of the report on which this meeting could direct its attention was as follows:

"As Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, was to come to India and as it was declared beforehand as to why he was coming to India the circumstances under which the Sub-Committee was called upon to consider the question of passive resistance had changed a great deal and also as the speech, delivered by Mr. Montagu on the eve of his appointment to the post of the Secretary of State for India during the discussion in the House of Commons on the report of the Mesopotamia Commission, was found to be satisfactory as regards Indian questions, it was not desirable to carry on the campaign of passive resistance."

"The President then said that the meeting had at that stage to consider the original proposal of Mr. Samarth to the effect that as the campaign proposal of passive resistance was against the principle of the Congress Constitution and was subversive of law, it was the opinion of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee that it was not desirable to take it up. The President then formally placed the proposition before the meeting for consideration.

"After somewhat heated discussion it was moved as an amendment that it was justifiable to carry on the campaign of passive resistance and it was advisable to make use of it if there was no satisfactory termination of the coercive measure taken by the authorities. Some members, speaking against the amendment, protested that those who favoured this amendment refused to define what passive resistance was and the Sub-Committee too had shirked the work entrusted to it of giving its definition. Under the circumstances they stated that before proceeding on the proposal and the amendment then before the meeting, the Sub-Committee be again asked to report as to how passive resistance could be defined. A heated discussion took place on this suggestion after which M. K. Gandhi, on being asked, stated that the campaign of passive resistance could not be carried on by an institution like the Congress. Passive resistance could be described merely as a matter of conscience or force of soul, when it was useless to go to lawyers. After Gandhi had delivered his opinion, it was suggested that B. G. Tilak should, after consultation with Gandhi, suggest to the meeting some acceptable amendment. On this Gandhi himself suggested an amendment but Tilak insisted on making his own alterations in it before placing it before the meeting. These alterations again led to a hot discussion in the meeting because in them it was sought to justify the use of the stronger measures like passive resistance etc., under certain circumstances. Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir Wadia and the Honourable Sir Ebrahim Rahimutulla pointed out the danger of young inexperienced men

being led astray by such suggestion plainly said that in case this amendment was passed it was sure to lead to the very unfortunate result of dividing the Congress. The President here interposed and brought about an unanimous compromise. The President, after some discussion with Tilak and his party, declared that a certain amendment had been drawn up in agreement with Tilak and his party. The amendment was as follows:

"Though the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that there is a strong feeling among the people to support the campaign of passive resistance on account of the coercive measures recently taken by the Government, it advises that, taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Montagu is coming on a visit to this country and that the reasons of his coming are well known, the work of the consideration of and giving opinion on the principles underlying passive resistance and the measures necessary to put them into effect, which has been entrusted to his committee by the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, be for the present held in abeyance, and the meeting expresses the hope that the Government will take the necessary steps to allay the bitter feeling aroused among the people by action of internments and coercive measures taken by the authorities. This course will enable the Secretary of State to fulfill the work entrusted to him under normal conditions."

"As this proposal was accepted by Tilak and his friends, a wish was expressed that it should be placed before the meeting by the President himself as a non-contentious resolution. Accordingly, on the President himself placing it before the meeting, it was unanimously passed amidst cheers and the meeting terminated amidst shouts of Pramukh ki Jai (President's victory).

"The business of the meeting lasted three hours.

SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

September 2. 1917

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It was unanimously passed amidst cheers

[Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1917, pp. 620-1.

CWMG, Vol. XIII, P. 516]

Page 648, Para. 988.

Ahmedabad, September 13th.—M. K. Gandhi left for Bombay on the 25th ultimo August accompanied by Swami Satya Deo, Gandhi returned alone on the 27th and left again for Bombay on the 30th, returning here again on the 4th instant.

(b) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 22nd.*—Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on the 17th instant to attend the Co-operative Societies Conference. He put up in the Servants of India Society's Home. He left by the night train on the 18th for Ranchi.

1918

Page 399, Para 577(d).

Bombay Chronicle, dated 4th May 1918.—A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held on Friday at 2-00 p.m. in the rooms of the Bombay Presidency Association, with Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the National Congress, in the chair. Among those present were Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, the Honourable Mr. Shastri, the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, Dr. Munje, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. C. P. Ramswami Aiyar and Mr. B. P. Wadia.

Page 578, Para 943(h).

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 4th.—The following is a summary of a report received from the Commissioner of Police of the proceedings of a public meeting held on Sunday, the 16th June 1918 at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay. The meeting was held under the auspices of the two Home Rule Leagues and its objects was to celebrate " Home Rule Day ". There was a very large attendance.

Dr. M. B. Velkar opened the proceedings by moving the election of Mr. Gandhi to the chair. He commented on the speech of his Excellency the Governor the previous Sunday at the War Conference. He said that they were not going to take the insult lying down, and one of the reasons they were assembled there in their thousands was to protest against the conduct of Lord Willingdon.

S. V. Lalit seconded the motion.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the meeting in Gujarati. He said he had his address written in English, but owing to the noise and confusion he

¹E. S. Montagu (1879-924), Secretary of State for India, 1917-22 and co-sponsor of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

was afraid he would not be able to give them even a summary of it. He would, however, tell them that they were assembled to protest against the disrespect shown to their revered leaders and he thought they should take some steps to give expression to that protest. Certain resolutions would be put before them which they should consider and give their opinion as to whether they should be passed or not.

SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY¹

June 16, 1918

It was not without very considerable hesitation that I accepted the invitation to preside over the deliberations of this great and important meeting we have met in order respectfully to protest against His Excellency Lord Willingdon's conduct in the chair at the War Conference that met in the Town Hall on the 10th instant. I entertain high regard for Lord Willingdon. Of all the Governors in India, probably Lord Willingdon is the most popular. He is known to hold liberal views regarding our aspirations. It is, therefore, difficult for me to contemplate the proceedings of this meeting without sorrow, but I feel that I may not allow personal regard to interfere with the performance of an obvious duty, no matter how painful it may be. The duty is plain Lord Willingdon convened the Conference, deliberately invited the prominent and leading members of the Home Rule Leagues. They, not wishing to court insult on the one hand, and on the other, desiring to give ample previous notice to His Excellency of their intention to plead their views before the Conference. asked for information about the programme of the Conference. Lord Willingdon had before him the experience of the Delhi Conference. He knew that the Home Rule League members had the first scope given them for discussion during the sittings of the Committees that were then formed. He knew that many members of that Conference had delivered political speeches at its first sitting. In his opening remarks, he delivered a deliberate attack upon the Home Rule Leagues. He accused them of constant obstruction. He was not sure of the sincerity of their support. The Conference platform was hardly the platform for such remarks. If he did not want their co-operation, he ought not to have invited the members of the Home Rule Leagues. If he desired their co-operation, it was hardly the way to tell them before hand that he did not trust them. He ought to have remembered that Home Rule Leaguers gave material assistance in one way. Their organ, the Chronicle, has always urged upon the people to give all the help they can. I venture to suggest to His Excellency that his aspersion upon the Leagues was, at the very least. a tactical blunder. But this was not enough. He wrote in reply to Mr. Kelkar's inquiry as follows:

A certain number of speakers will be invited before hand to move. second and support the resolutions to be laid before the Conference. After these speakers have concluded their remarks, an open discussion will follow.

¹Gandhiji presided over the meeting which was held in the evening at Sharuararr. Chawl in Girgaon, in the hear of Bombay city, and was attended by some 12,000 people. The meeting was organized as an anti-Willingdon demonstration to protest against Governor's provocative statements at the Bombay Provincial War Conference, regarding Home Rule League leaders. The meeting adopted two resolutions. The day was observed as "Home Rule Day ".

The resolutions laid before the Conference will be framed to give effect to the resolutions of the Delhi Conference* and will be two in number, the first in general terms and the second making specific proposals, formal amendments will not be admitted, but any criticism or suggestions which speakers may make in the course of discussion will receive careful consideration of Government.

There is no reservation here about political discussion. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar together with others sent in their names as speakers. In due course, Mr. Tilak rose to speak and hardly had he uttered three sentences, two of which consisted of an absolute declaration of loyalty, when he was stopped on the ground that he was speaking politics on the loyalty. In vain did Mr. Tilak protest that the loyalty resolution had an addendum to it which entitled him to offer relevant criticism. Mr. Kelkar followed and he shared the same fate with the result that there was immediately a dramatic withdrawal from the Town Hall led by Mr. Tilak¹ in my humble opinion, His Excellency, in giving the ruling that he did, committed a grave blunder and did a dis-service to the cause which he had come to espouse. He offered a gratuitous insult to Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar, and thereby, to a great, powerful organization in the country. It is impossible to ignore or insult Mr. Tilak and his followers. Mr. Tilak is an idol of the people. He wields over thousands of men an unrivalled influence, his word is law to them. I have great differences of opinion with him, but I would be untrue to myself if I failed to acknowledge that his burning love of his country, his immense sacrifices and a resolute advocacy of the popular cause have earned for him a place in the politics of India which no other leader has. The insult offered to him, and through him to the Home Rule Leagues, is therefore, an insult to the nation at large. Whether, therefore, we differ from him in politics or not, it is the duty of us all, who feel that Lord Willingdon's treatment of Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar was wrong, to protest against it. I am prepared to admit that it would have been better if Mr. Tilak had risen to speak to the said resolution. It is my special and personal opinion, not shared perhaps by any one else, that it would have been better still if he had preserved dignified silence; but, in my opinion, he had a right to speak to the loyalty resolution and offer criticism. I must dissent from the view that a loyalty resolution debars a free expression of one's sentiments. That loyalty must, indeed, be skindeep which requires a wall of protection against criticism. I hold it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the King to tell him that things are done in his name which ought not to be done. My declaration of loyalty will sound all the truer for the warning and I think that among the many services rendered by the Home Rule Leagues, special mention deserves to be made of their having emboldened the people to speak out their minds: and I doubt not that if they but do their duty to the fullest extent, they would place India's loyalty above suspicion. For, with a true Home Ruler it must be an article of faith that the Empire must be saved; for, in its safety lies the fruition of his fondest hopes. Not to help the Empire is to commit national suicide. How can we wish harm to our would be partner without hurting ourselves?

So, whilst I fully share the opinion of the members of the Home Rule Leagues that we must protect national honour by asking for an expression

*The Viceroy's War Conference held in Delhi on April 27th—29. ¹Along with Tilak, Gandhiji, Jinnah, B. G. Horniman, then editor of the Bombay Chronicle, N. C. Kelkar and R. P. Karandikar left the Conference Halt.

of regret for His Excellency's faux-pas, we must, at the same time redouble our efforts to help the authorities in the prosecution of the war. We must not be angered by Lord Willingdon's mistake into taking a false step ourselves. We have too much at stake; we want Home Rule and we want (it) in the quickest time possible, and I wish I could still persuade the country to accept my view that absolutely unconditional and wholehearted co-operation with the Government on the part of educated India will bring us within sight of our goal as nothing else will. I do not for a single minute share the distrust of my countrymen that, like so many other hopes of ours this one of *swaraj* is also doomed to disappointment. Not that the Government here, as also the Imperial Government, have done nothing to shake our trust; only, my trust rests not in their change of policy, but it rests upon the solid foundation of our own struggle. Surely it must be easy for anyone to see that, if we succeed in controlling the development of manpower and resources, we will have attained to an irresistible position and power; for, in my humble plan for the attainment of Home Rule, I aspire to nothing less than a complete control over these two departments. The Government seek our co-operation herein, let us take them at their word. They cannot reject help willingly and honestly offered. Out supplying recruits means in spirit though not in law, yet a national army instead of a hired army. I have never been able to claim for ourselves any credit for the thousands who have been recruited by the official department. These recruits have gone not as patriots, not for the sake of the country, not for the Empire but for the money and other inducements held out for the Empire but for the money and other inducement held out to them. Recruits whom we would raise would be Home Rulers. They would go to fight for the Empire, but they would so fight because they aspire to become partners in it. They would not consider it with Sir Narayan¹ a humiliation to fight for their hearths and their homes, but they would consider it a perfectly honourable ambition to gain freedom for their country by fighting for the Empire,

I hope that H.E. will see his way to concede to the wishes of this great meeting; but if he fails today, if the Viceroy also fails, I for one shall not despair of H.E. voluntarily apologizing to the Home Rule League in the near future. For I know they mean to co-operate in the prosecution of War. And when he sees this, he will realize his mistake and, like a gentleman that he will offer apology. Difficulties there are, many of the Government's creation. Thus, indifference to popular opinion, their rejection of our advice tendered for the attainment of the common aim, namely gaining of recruits, have made our task well-nigh impossible of fulfilment: but our duty is clear. Undaunted by these and many other difficulties, we should press forward and bear down their indifference to our opinion by demonstrating in practice the harm that they do to the Empire by their persistent defiance of popular will. I, therefore, regard the second resolution, that will be placed before you not in any sense as so many conditions of our co-operation, but as a statement of the difficulties lying in our path. There are only two ways whereby we can attain our goal, co-operation or obstruction. Under the British Constitution, obstruction is a perfectly legitimate and well-known methods for securing rights; but obstruction at a crisis like the one facing the Empire can only end in enraging the Government who are responsible for the conduct of the war; where as, cooperation will not only disarm their opposition but it will give us a strength

¹Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar.

and a confidence which cannot but take us to our goal. The occasion for which we have met is a unique one; we are asking a popular Governor to put himself right with us by repenting of his mistakes; we are also providing that, if we fail to get redress, we pledge ourselves not to attend any public meeting over whose deliberations Lord Willingdon may preside in future. This is a serious step, but I think, warranted by events that have taken place. The justice of our step will be proved by our future conduct, i.e., by disproving H.E.'s charges by a determined effort at cooperation.

I observe that today is the Home Rule Day anniversary. It is, or ought to be, a solemn day for Home Rule Leaguers. Lord Willingdon has presented them with the expression Home Rule Leagues distinguished from "Home Rulers". I cannot conceive the existence of an Indian who is not a Home Ruler; but there are millions, like myself who are not Home Rule Leaguers. Although I am not a member of any Home Rule League, I wish to pay on this auspicious day my humble tribute to numerous Home Rule Leaguers whose association I have ever sought in my work and which has been extended to me ungrudgingly. I have found many of them to be capable of any sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland. Some of them, I have noticed, are extremely capable young men, for I am not thinking, in offering my tribute, of the front-rank leaders of the movement. I am simply thinking of the rank and file with whom it has been my privilege to work. I wish to testify to their loyalty to the British Constitution and the British connection, and also testify to their impatience of bureaucratic control. They show an eminent degree of all the virtues and vices of youth. Their language is sometimes strong, sometimes even wild, not parliamentary. They betray excessive zeal. Men of age and experience, we often may and find occasions to stand aghast at some of their actions; but their hearts are strong and pure. They have succeeded to a certain extent in clearing the atmosphere of cant and humbug. Their truth has sometimes hurt, but I must say that although, when the Leagues were first established, I looked upon them with scepticism and even doubted their usefulness, a careful examination of their work has convinced me that the Leagues have supplied a felt want. They have put light into the people. They have filled them with hope and courage; and, had the authorities not misunderstood them, I am certain they could have availed themselves of this inexhaustible reservoir of manpower. They need not be told that the members of the Leagues realize their own responsibility, and come forward with it. It was hardly to be expected of high souled youths who had all along chafed under bureaucratic domination.

It was the duty of the authorities who, being more experienced, should have known better, to have made the Home Rule Leaguers their own. Whatsoever the error may be, let the Home Rule Leaguers, having now realized it, correct it. Let them not lose faith in even the bureaucrats. Want of faith is a betrayal of weakness. Bureaucracy is bad, it is doomed, but all bureaucrats are not bad. Our triumph will be in reforming the bureaucrats. If we need not say "*Johukum*" and fall down at their feet, we may not shame them or insult them. Let us meet the tricks of the bureaucracy with the greatest frankness and honesty. That we should return good for evil was not said of angels but of men. The manliest course is never to deviate by a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path; and Home Rule Leaguers are nothing if they cannot be manly. During the coming year of probation, let the Home Rule Leaguers discharge

themselves as efficiently in the work of construction as they have in the work of destruction and they will make this a day for universal celebration throughout the length and breadth of India.

Page 155, Para 378 (g and I).

(g) *Bombay, March 3rd.* - -The Rowlatt bills are the talk of the town at present. The *Chronicle* has helped to keep them prominently before the public by publishing in bold type for the last three days. M. K. Gandhi came to Bombay and I arranged for him to be unobtrusively watched. He was constantly visited by the Home Rule leaders of Bombay. The following saw him: B. G. Horaiman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankarlal Ghela-bhai Banker, Dr. Dinkar Dhonddev Sathaye, Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Anusayabai. of Ahmedabad and Mawji Govindji. Speculation is rife as to the manner in which the passive resistance movement will be effected. It is generally understood that the intention is to cut the ground from under the feet of Government by refusing to pay any taxes if the bills are passed into law.

The younger generation appears to be catching on very enthusiastically, and the cloth merchants have determined to follow Gandhi through thick and thin. The Home Rules are taking signatures on the vow. I have little doubt that the list of signatures will grow very quickly. On the 2nd instant a notice in pencil was put up at the Mulji Jetha Market inviting people to sign the vow at S. G. Banker's residence. About 40 men went to do so.

It will be noted from the composition of the Satyagraha Committee that the Home Rulers are taking the lead in the agitation. They are attempting to ridicule the Manifesto of the Moderates against the Passive Resistance movement which was issued from Delhi. The public mind is undoubtedly agitated over the question and very large number of people of various classes openly express the opinion that there was no necessity for Government to introduce such legislation immediately after the armistice. The agitators have succeeded so far that they have caused the idea to spread that the machinery of Government will collapse in the face of this movement. It is even said that officials may be affected by it. M. K. Gandhi left for Delhi on Monday. (3rd March). It is rumoured that he went in response to a telegraphic summons from His Excellency the Viceroy.

1919

Pages 187-88, Part 476 (a), (c) Bombay-1919.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Allahabad on the 13th instant and stayed with Revashanker Jagjivan, a jeweller in Gam-devi, Bombay. He was received on his arrival at Victoria Terminus by Tamnadas Dwarkadas. He was interviewed the same evening by B. G. Horniman, Kanji Dwarkadas and a few others of the *Satyagraha Sabha*. On the following day, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, S. G. Banker, Swami Shradhnnanda *alias* Munshiram of the Gurukul at Hardwar, and Dr. N. D. Savarkar saw him at his lodging. On the 14th idem, Gandhi presided at a public meeting held at the French Bridge of protest against the Rowlatt Bills. He did not speak. Ill-health was assigned as a reason for this, his address as President being read out for him. He left Bombay for Madras on the night of the 16th idem. The following persons saw him: P. K. Telang, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Dr. M. B. Velkar, Kanji Dwarkadas, Sannyasi Munshiram, Vishvanath Keshav Salvekar, proprietor of the Sirdar Griha Hotel, Mrs. Anusuyabai, S- G. Banker and Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri.

Dr. P. J. Mehta arrived here from Delhi on the 27th ultimo (February) and put up at the *Ashram*. On the 28th (Friday) he left for Bombay with M. K. Gandhi, Mahadev Haribhai Desai, Miss Anusuya Sarabhai and other members of the *Ashram*. It is said that Gandhi and his party intend to tour the Bombay and Madras Presidencies propagating the passive resistance creed.

SPEECH ON ROWLATT BILLS. BOMBAY

March 14. 1919

At the Bombay meeting against the Rowlatt Bills on 14th March, 1919, Mr. Gandhi's speech which was in Gujarati was read out by his secretary.

I am sorry that owing to my illness, I am unable to speak to you myself and have, to have my remarks read to you. You will be glad to know that Sannyasi Shradhanandji is gracing the audience today by his presence. He is better known to us as Mahatma Munshiramji. the Governor of Gurukul. His joining our army is a source of strength to us. Many of you have perhaps been keenly following the proceedings of the Viceregal Council. Bill No. 2 is being steamrollered by means of the official majority of the Government and in the teeth of the unanimous opposition from the non-official members. I deem it to be an insult to the latter, and through them to the whole of India. *Satyagraha* has become necessary as much to ensure respect for duly expressed public opinion, as to have the mischievous Bills withdrawn. Grave responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the *satyagrahis* though, as I have so often said, there is no such thing as defeat in *Satyagraha* it does not mean that victory can be achieved without *satyagrahis* to fight for it, *i.e.*, to suffer for it. The use of this matchless force is comparatively a novelty. It is not the same thing as passive resistance which has been conceived to be a weapon that can be wielded most effectively only by the strongest minded, and you may depend upon it that six hundred men and women who in this Presidency have signed the Pledge are more than enough for our purpose, if they have strong wills and invincible faith in their mission, and that (it) is in the power of truth to conquer untruth, which *satyagrahis* believe the Bills represent. I use the word "untruth" in its widest sense. We may expect often to be told as we have been told already by Sir William Vincent that the Government will not yield to any threat of passive resistance. *Satyagrah* is not a threat, it is a fact; and even such a mighty Government as the Government of India will have to yield if we are true to our Pledge. For, the Pledge is not a small thing. It means a change of heart. It is an attempt to introduce the religious spirit into politics. We may no longer believe in the doctrine of tit for tat; we may not meet hatred by hatred, violence by violence, evil by evil; but we have to make a continuous and persistent effort to return good for evil. It is of no consequence that I give utterance to these sentiments. Every *satyagrahi* has to live up to them. It is a difficult task, but with the help of God, nothing is impossible. (Loud cheers).

[Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches.

CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 135-36]

Page 264, Para 555 (a-1).

(a) *Bombay, April 7th.*—(1) The *Satyagraha* movement which had been advertised in the *Bombay Chronicle* during the preceding weeks came to

a head in an attempt to observe Sunday the 6th April as a day of " national " mourning to protest against the Rowlatt Act. M. K. Gandhi came to Bombay on the 3rd April and made Bombay his headquarters for the campaign.

SPEECH AT CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY

April 6. 1919

Bombay presented the sight of city in mourning on the occasion of the day of national humiliation, prayers and sorrow at the passing of the Rowlatt Bills and kept the twenty-four hours' fast.

SEA BATH AND PRAYERS AT CHOWPATTY

Long before the sun had risen, the Back Bay foreshore was humming and throbbing with life, for it was full of people. From an early hour in the morning, people had come to Chowpatty to bathe in the sea. It was a Black Sunday, and the day's programme had to begin with a sea bath

Mr. M. K. Gandhi was one of the first arrivals at Chowpatty with several volunteers, and by 6-30 a.m. or earlier had taken his seat on one of the stone benches with about a hundred *satyagrahis* around him. As the day advanced people kept pouring in on the seashore. Every new arrival took his bath in the sea first and then came and sat round Mr. Gandhi. In this manner the crowd swelled and swelled until it became one huge mass of people. Mr. Gandhi, as the time for the meeting on Chowpatty sands neared, moved in that direction, where he was shortly joined by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Horniman and others. There Were also about twenty-five ladies. It was a splendid sight at this time, for the whole Sandhurst Bridge swarmed with people and there must have been approximately one and-a-half lakhs of people. All communities were represented there Mahomedans, Hindu, Parsis, etc., and one Englishman Mahomedans joined the main body of the people at Chowpatty in strong numbers. At exactly eight o'clock, Mr. Gandhi made his speech. As he was too ill, the speech was read for him by Mr. Jamnadas.

Mr. Gandhi's, Exhortation to take Swadeshi Vow

Mr. Gandhi in the beginning said those who wanted to take the *swadeshi* vow could do so on the *Ramnavmi* day¹ after taking their bath early in the morning. But this particular meeting was not the proper occasion for that . if to do that. There was a world of difference between boycott and *swadeshi*, for boycott was a sort of punishment, while the *swadeshi vrat* Was a religious duty. If they wanted to take the *swadeshi* vow they should do so with due and deliberate consideration. He himself was one of the staunchest *swadeshists* and perhaps the strictest, but if the people wanted to move in the matter they should do so only after consideration of all points. On *Ramnavmi*, they could all of them, if they so desired, take the *swadeshi* vow. This was repeated by Mr. Jamnadas sentence by sentence, as Mr. Gandhi instructed him. Mr. Jamnadas then read the speech of Mr. Gandhi.

¹April 9

²Vow.

Mr. Gandhi in his speech said:

I am anxious to say as little as possible on this occasion, which is perhaps the most solemn of our lives for most of us. And I know that this great demonstration could be made more eloquent if we could do away with speeches. But it is impossible to ignore the tragedy that was enacted at the capital of India last Sunday.

We have before us two authoritative versions of the episode. Swami Shraddhananji's on behalf of the people and that of the Government on behalf of the local authorities. The two do not tally. They differ as to some of the main particulars. An impartial observer will regard both as party statements. I, being of the popular party, shall, therefore, for the purposes of my criticism assume the truth of the official narrative; but there are remarkable gaps in it, amounting to an evasion of some of the charges brought against the local authorities by Sannyasi Shraddhanandji. It should be remembered that the Sannyasi's statement was first on the field. The Sannyasi appeared on the scene immediately after the first firing. He says, "I went to some Europeans, of whom one was Mr. Currie, City Magistrate and asked them to tell me the true facts. They treated me with indifference. Mr. Currie actually turning his back upon me. I told him that I was taking the people away to the meeting ground, although early, and he ought not to threaten people by making a display of military and machineguns."

In my humble opinion, it was the duty of the Government to deal with this charge. Mr. Currie must have, or ought to have, known the Sannyasi. He is not a young man unknown to fame. He occupies a recognized status in the Indian world and it was common knowledge at the time the occurrence took place that he was one of the principal leaders in the *satyagraha* movement in Delhi. Did Mr. Currie ignore the Sannyasi? The Sannyasi has described in graphic language the threat used by the Gurkhas. Were rifles pointed at him and was he insolently told 'Turn ko chhed denge'?¹ Did a Gurkha brandish before him his naked kukri² right and left? It would appear that had the authorities endeavoured to regulate the crowd through its natural leaders, there need have been no display or use of military force. But the authorities last Sunday simply followed out the traditional policy of ignoring leaders and of overawing the people. Assuming every one of the statements in the official communique to be correct, as I have remarked in my letter to the Press, there was no warrant for firing on innocent people. At the worst, what was it that the men could have done? It is clear that the men were absolutely unarmed. An Indian crowd is the easiest in the world to disperse. In any other place but India, the police would have been deemed sufficient to meet an emergency of the Delhi type and then, too, they would have been armed with nothing more than batons.

AN INCIDENT AT DURBAN

I remember an occasion when a mob of 6,000 Europeans, who had been previously inflamed by their leaders, tried to lynch one who, I believe, had given no cause for it. After a hot pursuit by the lynchers, he found shelter in a friend's house, which was also the latter's shop. Towards evening, the crowd in a determined manner marched to the house, and demanded delivery of the victim of their wrath on pain of burning down the shop. Lives of nearly twenty men, women and children were at stake. Goods worth £ 20,000 might have been destroyed. Here if at any time, the use of

¹ We shall pierce you ".

²Curved knife.

the military would have been justified. But the Superintendent of Police would not summon any such aid. He alone with his dozen constables scattered amongst the crowd, defended the lives and property that were in danger, and after three hours' contending with the crowd, he succeeded in stealing the victim through the crowd to the police station, and finally in dispersing the lynchers. This happened on the 13th day of January, 1897, in Durban.¹ Unlike the Durban crowd, the Delhi crowd was without a mind of its own. It threatened to do nothing beyond, as alleged in the communique, refusing to disperse.

The authorities could have without the aid of the military surely succeeded in guarding the station and could then have left the crowd to its own resources. But unfortunately, almost throughout India, it has become customary to summon the military on the slightest pretext, I have, however, no desire to labour this question any further. It is enough for us to know that no harm was done to anybody by any action of the crowd and, that on this occasion the crowd was neither overawed nor infuriated. It covered itself with glory by remaining firm and self-possessed and by holding a meeting said to have been attended by 40,000 men almost immediately after the deadly fire. It was truly an event of which, when time has done its work, India will be proud. All honour to Sannyasi Shraddhanandji and Hakimji Ajmal Khan¹ for their effective and brave leadership. During the last few days, I have often stated that I have no fear of any excesses or violence breaking out among people who may take part in the struggle. The doings in Delhi only confirm my optimism. However, I never contemplated that those who are our associates would not have our own blood split, though I do confess that I was totally unprepared for the "stern measures of the Delhi authorities. But to *satyagrahis*, they must be welcome. The sterner they are, the better. They have undertaken to suffer even unto death. We have therefore no right to complain of those measures directed against us.

No Nation has risen without sacrifice

I have a telegram from Shraddhanandji saying that four Mahomedan and five Hindu corpses have upto now been traced and dealt with according to the rites prescribed by the respective religions and that about 20 are believed to be missing and 13 badly wounded cases are receiving attention in the hospital. This is not a bad beginning. No country has ever risen, no nation has ever been made without sacrifice, and we are trying an experiment of building up ourselves by self-sacrifice without resorting to violence in any shape or form. This is *satyagraha*. From the pure *stayagraha* standard, our case in Delhi is weak in one respect. The crowd undoubtedly demanded the release of the men who were arrested at the instance of the station authorities and declined to disperse until they were given up. Both these acts were wrong. It was wrong to demand the release of the arrested men. It is arrest and imprisonment that we seek by civil disobedience. It therefore ill becomes us to resent either. And it was wrong not to disperse. In this movement, it is open to *satyagrahis* to disobey only those laws which are selected for the purpose by the committee contemplated in the Pledge. When we have acquired habits of

¹1865-1927 physician and politician; president, Indian National Congress, 1921.

¹*Vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7th April '979.

discipline, self-control, qualities of leadership and obedience, we shall be better able to offer collective civil disobedience,, but until we have developed these qualities, I have advised that we should select for disobedience only such laws as can be disobeyed by individuals.

It is, therefore, necessary for us till we are sufficiently disciplined and till the spirit of *satyagraha* has permeated large bodies of men and women to obey all regulations regarding processions and gatherings. Whilst we disobey certain selected laws, it is incumbent on us to show our law-abiding character by respecting all other laws. And then when we have reached the necessary, standard of knowledge and discipline, we shall find that machineguns and all other weapons, even the plague of aeroplanes, will cease to afflict us.

A sacred duty

It now requires for me to place before you for your acceptance two resolutions. The first is a sacred duty. In it we express our deep sympathy with those who have lost their dear ones and congratulate the Delhi people and the organizers of the demonstration upon their exemplary self-restraint. A wire has been sent to Shraddhanandji inquiring about the financial circumstances of the bereaved families and inquiring whether, in the event of pecuniary help being necessary, Delhi is able to cope with it. The least that we owe to the memory of our deceased brethren is that we should support their dependants to the required extent and I have no doubt that the rich people of Bombay will not fail if called upon for the purpose to put their hands into their pockets.

A simple prayer

The second resolution is a simple prayer to the Secretary of State for India that he will be pleased to advise His Majesty the King-Emperor to disallow the Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act and an equally simple prayer to H.E. the Viceroy that he will be pleased to withdraw Rowlatt Bill No. 1. This prayer will go forward weighted with the blood of the innocents of Delhi and the promise that we shall continue to suffer by civil disobedience till the hearts of the rulers are softened and till they accept the principle that they may not violate enlightened and unanimously expressed public opinion even as they have done in the case of the Rowlatt legislation.

Resolutions

The following two resolutions were then passed amidst silence:

I. This meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay tenders its congratulations to the inhabitants of Delhi for showing exemplary self-restraint under circumstances the most trying and to Sannyasi Swami Shree Shraddhanandji and to Hakimji Ajmal Khan for their admirable leadership and offer its respectful condolences to the families of those innocent men who were killed by the firing ordered by the local authorities.

II. This meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay respectfully requests the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India to advise H. M. the King- Emperor to veto the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919, inasmuch as apart from its being intrinsically bad and totally uncalled for, it was passed in defiance of unanimously expressed public opinion; and this meeting respectfully requests the Viceroy to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendments Bill No. 1 of 1919.

After the speech was over, Mr. Gandhi announced that they would form a procession and go over to the Madhav Baug Temple and offer their prayers there. Mrs. Naidu, who was ill, would return home in a car.

A procession was then formed and without the least exaggeration it could be stated that from the seashore to Madhav Baug it was a solid mass of humanity, gathering strength on its way. The houses on both sides were crowded with women and men and children.

The volunteers formed themselves into a cordon round the leaders, for the crush was too much, and slowly marched towards Madhav Baug. Mr. Horniman, who was ill, could only walk with some difficulty and was in a weak condition of health. It took considerable time to reach Madhav Baug on account of the huge crowd. At Madhav Baug itself, the people distributed themselves all over the place and the compound was completely filled. Mr. Gandhi came there and, after offering prayers, requested the crowd to disperse quietly which they did.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 7th April 1919
CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 183-88]

Page 301, Para 574(e).

Bombay, April 21st.—A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held on the 20th instant at 11 a.m. under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Amongst other the following were present: (1) The Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde, (2) The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, (3) M. A. Jinnah, (4) M. K. Gandhi, (5) Mrs. Besant (6) K. M. Munshi, (7) P. K. Telang, (8) Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Kanji Dwarkadas, (9) Umar Sobani, (10) S. G. Banker. (11) Swami Satyadev and (12) Nekiram Sharma.

A formal discussion took place on two subjects. Firstly the question of sending a deputation to England in connection with the Reform Scheme and secondly that of preparing and forwarding a written representation to His Excellency the Viceroy and Secretary of State describing the political situation and asking for a thorough and searching inquiry into the present disturbances. A sub-committee consisting of (1) Pandit Malaviya. (2) Mr. V. J. Patel, (3) Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, and (4) Mr. Ganesh Lal was appointed to draft the representation. Discussion took place in connection with the advisability of forwarding such a representation. Mrs. Besant very strongly opposed the step and said that the situation was so bad that even constitutional agitation should be stopped and every Indian should help Government in restoring peace and order. She said that India was in a precarious condition as Bolshevism had come. There was some opposition to Mrs. Besant's statement when it was decided to postpone consideration of the matter until 4-30 p.m. on Monday. It was decided to send a deputation consisting of the Honourable Mr. Patel. the Honourable Mr. Khaparde and Mr N. C. Kelkar to England in connection with the Reform Scheme.

Rauf went to see Gandhi at his house at 7 p.m.. on Saturday; he found Gandhi closeted with Jinnah, Jamnadas, Sathaye and others, discussing the future of the Chronicle. On his arrival the discussion abruptly ceased. and he was told to come at some other time.

Page 337.

I had a long interview with Gandhi on Sunday (27th April) after noon when Curry and I (P. C.) attempted to persuade him that the modified

form of *satyagraha* was dangerous, in that he was preparing the ground for a campaign which would inevitably be dangerous if his restraining influence should for any reason become inoperative. I am afraid we did not succeed in shaking him. Amongst other things he told us that he had some doubts as to accepting Horniman as a *Satyagrahi* when he desired to sign the pledge, because he had always considered, judging by what he had heard of him and by his writings, that Horniman was as an advocate of violence who believed that a revolution might be justifiable if justifiable ends could be achieved by no other means. He also said that he attributed the cause of the present unrest to five main factors, which he placed in the following order of importance:

1. The question of the Khilafat,
2. Unrestrained oratory on public platforms,
3. Rowlatt Acts,
4. The prevailing scarcity, and
5. Forced recruitment in the Punjab.

He further told us that he considered Jamnadas, Umar Sobani, Banker and Horniman to be the main props of the *satyagraha* movement in Bombay. He stated his opinion that Horniman had, since joining the *satyagraha* movement, undergone a complete metamorphosis and had if not been for his untimely removal, he would have developed into a veritable turtle-dove.

Gandhi emphatically claimed that it was the influence of *satyagraha* alone that had kept Bombay calm in spite of the provocation of Horniman's arrest. He was gratified to feel that the movement had obtained so firm a hold upon the people. Our reports show that the *satyagraha* volunteers were active in moving about and advising crowds reading the special supplement announcing Horniman's arrest to disperse and go quietly to their homes and further to resume their work as usual next day.

I attach copy of Gandhi's message upon the arrest of Horniman.

Copy of M. K. Gandhi's Message. Brothers and sisters.

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have today removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the *Mantram* of Liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has been it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave *satyagrahi* has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his pledge.

The publication of the *Chronicle* will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the *Chronicle* without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious *satyagraha* is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with *satyagrahis* and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every *satyagrahi* by the separation of a dear comrade. The Nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the

one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this *satyagrahis* and others will, in my opinion, demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern Civilization challenges the Ancient. *Satyagraha* now going on is based upon the teachings of the Ancient Civilization and if India accepted *satyagraha* the superiority of the Ancient Civilization will be indicated. The world will see Modern Civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan. There should be no large public meetings of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask *satyagrahis* and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficiency of *satyagraha* and firmly to believe that the *satyagraha* pledge will be carried out in its entirety.

M. K. Gandhi.

More later.

Pages 339-340, Para 600.

(a) *Bombay, April 28.*—A public meeting under the auspices of the *Satyagraha Sabha* was held in Nar Narayan's Temple, Kalbadevi Road, at 5-30 p.m. on the 27th instant. It was intended to be for the benefit of the Marwaris of Bombay. The following, amongst others, were present at the meeting which was attended by about 1,000 persons: M. K. Gandhi, Miss. Anusuyabai, Jamnadas Dwarkadas. Umar Sobani. S. G. Banker, T. D. Sanghani and Nekiram Sharma.

Jamnadas Dwarkadas repeated Gandhi's address as the latter was said to be unable to stand up and address the meeting: the address was as follows: —

"I regret that I could not be punctual in attending this meeting. I was however engaged in our own work (*Note*—He was engaged in an interview with me—Police Commissioner). When I received the information which led me to come to Bombay, I did not know that brother Horniman would be deported. I have realised that we have not fully grasped the principles of *satyagraha*. If we had not known this defect we would have done something different about brother Horniman. So I must advise you that in spite of the separation from a great servant of the public like brother Horniman we should do nothing which would harm anyone. "We cannot close the shops or suspend business, because that would mean risk of disturbances. Disturbances are not part of *satyagraha*. The foundation of *satyagraha* is based on truth and non-violence. He who abides by truth and does not wish to harm anybody can be called a *satyagrahi*. You know how we are going to resort to *satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act. We have declared that we will not submit to the Rowlatt Act. We have declared that we will not submit to the Rowlatt Act and that we will civilly disobey other laws. That civil disobedience of law can only be practised by one who adheres to truth and non-violence. Without that civil disobedience is foolish and could not help us to achieve anything for the public good. The aim of *satyagraha* at present is to place before the public principles of truth and non-violence as far as possible, and when we are sure that these principles have been grasped, we will again break the law civilly. Every man and woman who takes this vow must understand that truth and non-violence are to be adhered to in this struggle. We have to

disobey the law civilly as Pralhad did. Like Pralhad also we must not depart from truth. Without these two things civil disobedience of law is irreligious. As will be seen from the manifesto issued by me about Horniman, our struggle is concerned with modern civilization. The history of the world speaks of the time spent by the nations in the development of physical force. We have observed this in Europe.

"I would put it to Hindus and others that they should not sink to the condition of modern Europe. Yet I have observed that India is inclined towards that condition. Otherwise we would not have seen the outrage that we have seen."

I have my duty to point out, without going into the merits or demerits of these outrages, that outrages and disturbances will never achieve any goods for India. From the study of other religions. I have learnt that the man who depends on physical force spreads irreligion, and he who depends on soul-force understands the true religion. So sisters and brothers bear in mind what has been said about this movement and help the cause. From this it need not be supposed that what I have said will take years and years to fulfil. It is only necessary to understand that we should not take part in disturbances when the movement progresses."

Jamnadas then read out the ' *Sympathisers Vow*' in Hindi and exhorted the audience to sign the vow after the meeting was dissolved.

Pages 373-374, Para 625 (m).

(m) *Bombay May 1st.*—The *satyagraha* meeting of yesterday evening was very illuminating. Gandhi arrived one hour late. He consulted his fellow *satyagrahis* as to their opinion of the future line of action which the *Sabha* should take. He stated that he had received a number of letters of protest against his inaction, including some containing ugly threats of poison and murder. He had been charged in some of the threatening letters with instigating the *satyagrahis* to do deeds of violence and of leaving them in the lurch when they had committed themselves and had paid the penalty in bloodshed. He averred that it was not his intention to back out of the movement but he would like to know the sense of the meeting before he said more. One *satyagrahi* whose name I have not got, said that they should act vigorously and he instanced Egypt which had obtained many rights after a strenuous fight of 15 days. Another said that the principles of *satyagraha* did not enjoin on them the necessity of receiving kicks and blows in patience without retaliation. Gandhi asked this speaker whether it was his intention, to fight openly; if so, he was at liberty to try conclusions with the authorities and he would soon find that he would come to grief as no political move based on physical force could possibly succeed. Another man enquired what was being done by way of protest against Horniman's arrest. Gandhi answered that it mattered little that Horniman had gone; it was for India to produce 101 Hornimans that was true *satyagraha*. Many murmured that this was not *satyagraha* and that they should do something to mark their resentment at the action of Government. Gandhi replied that if they wanted to strike they might close their shops but they should remain at home and create no demonstrations whatsoever. Gandhi, seeing that his power over the *satyagrahis* was waning, postponed further discussion until Friday next, the 2nd instant (May). He advised that the *Sabha* should meet regularly once a week to exchange opinions and Wednesday was fixed as the future date of meeting.

On arrival at the meeting Gandhi was accompanied by Jinnah and Pandit Malaviya, neither of whom attended the meeting.

The only item of interest as regards the movements of Gandhi is that he was visited by Ahmed Khatri at noon yesterday.

Umar Sobani has blossomed out in full *swadeshi* rig.

Bombay, May 3rd.—Gandhi has just issued in the *Sanj Vartaman*, dated the 3rd May 1919, a further message stating that he proposes to resume *satyagraha* and Civil Disobedience of the law on the 1st of July next.

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED?

Mahatma Gandhi's Message.

We have received the following message from Mahatma Gandhi to-day:-

When is *satyagraha* going to be resumed? Is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that *satyagraha* has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long *satyagraha* can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when *satyagrahis* are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from *satyagraha*. One such method is Civil Disobedience I have already explained the reason why this Civil Disobedience has been for time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following Civil Disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as Civil Disobedience, but as disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. *satyagrahis* may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of Civil Disobedience can however be hastened by the *satyagrahis* completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in it has led me to assurance that we shall be fitted for resuming Civil Disobedience in about two months, *i.e.*, if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime we may resume Civil Disobedience by the beginning of July. In provisionally fixing this period I am guided by the following considerations: One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the Country, *viz.* that during the pendency of Civil Disobedience no one, under cover of *satyagraha*, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards Indian's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand *satyagraha* to this extent. In that case there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the *satyagrahis* however to avoid this condition. Indeed it becomes their duty to resume *satyagraha* under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Governmental arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of *satyagraha*. Under such a state of things the *satyagrahis* may without any fear of disturbance commit Civil Disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but *satyagraha* alone can help us to secure justice.

May 2nd, 1919.

M. K. GANDHI.

Pages 396-404, Para 665.

Bombay, May 10th.—On Friday, the 9th May 1919 at 9 p.m. a meeting of the Mussalman community was held in Jamal Hall, Falkland Road, when Mr. Kaderbhoy Bar-at-law, presided and Mr. Gandhi delivered a speech expressing his sympathy with the idea of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, and asking the Mussalmans to always be united with Hindus in the *satyagraha* movement and to place their demands in a clear manner before Government.

About 600 people were present; more than a hundred of them had stood round Mr. Gandhi to be able to hear him distinctly.

Mr. Gandhi came with Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobani and Banker.

The proceedings were commenced with a prayer, which was offered by the whole assembly standing up. Then a Mussalman youth recited a verse in which 'Khooda' was invoked to facilitate the happening at Hindu Mussalman "entente", to remove all the difficulties now lying before the Mussalman community regarding the Khilafat question and to help the Mussalmans to free themselves from internal dissensions. In the verse the Mussalmans were invoked to take courage by listening to the advice of Mr. Gandhi, whose words, said he had the authority which the very Gospel had. He said the Rowlatt Bills were bound to go if his co-religionists would honestly follow Mr. Gandhi's lead.

SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY

May 9, 1919

What the Chairman has said about me is true, for I have, ever since the days of my youth, had a longing to see differences between Hindus and Mahomedans obliterated. When I was in South Africa, I came in close touch with Muslim brethren. I went there in connection with a Mahomedan case and there I was able to learn their habits, thoughts and aspirations. In 1914, I sailed from South Africa, reaching London on the 6th of August, *i.e.*, two days after the declaration of war between England and Germany. Soon after, I read a series of articles in the *London Times* speculating on Turkey's choice. I found the Mahomedans residing in London equally agitated. One morning we read the news that Turkey had joined Germany. I had no leisure then to study the Turkish question and pronounce judgment on the Turkish action, I simply prayed that India might be saved from the turmoil. Having had to explain to the Mahomedan friends in South Africa the events of the Tripolitan war and having understood their sentiments, I had no difficulty in gauging Mahomedan sentiment over the Turkish choice. Theirs became a much difficult position. I landed next year in India with ideas of Hindu-Mahomedan unity

¹Delivered in Gujarati at a special meeting of the Anjuman Ziaul Islam under the presidentship of M. T. Kadarbhai, Barrister-at-law, to consider the question of the Caliphate. A large number of Muslims was present. Gandhiji, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Shankarlal Banker were among those specially invited., Kadarbhai, in introducing Gandhiji to the meeting, said that the latter had throughout his life tried to see that the differences between the Hindus and the Mahomedans were obliterated, and that his passive resistance struggle in South Africa was principally for the Mahomedans, because three fourths of the Indian commerce was in the hands of the Mahomedans and that he had done in one day what years of British rule could not achieve in the union of the Hindus and the Mahomedans.

and the Turkish question and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions. There are two things to which I am developing my life permanent unity between Hindi' and Mahomedans, and *satyagraha*; to *satyagraha* probably move for it covers a much wider field. It is an all embracing movement and if was. accept the law of *satyagraha* unity will come of itself. The question that I have to answer this evening is: How can I help in having a Mahomedan question emerging out of the late war properly solved? After my arrival in India, I began to find out good Mohomedan leaders. My desire was satisfied when I reached Delhi, and found the Brothers Ali, whom I had the privilege of knowing before. It was a question of love at first sight between us. When I met Dr. Ansari, the circle of Mahomedan friend-widened and at last it even included Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow. I have discussed the Mahomedan question with all these friends and many other Mahomedans throughout India and I feel that this question is the greatest of all, greater even than that of the repeal of the Rowlatt legisla-fion; for it affects the religious susceptibilities of millions of Mahomedans It is a remarkable fact, but it is true that Mahomedan women and children too are interested in this question. There is at the present moment suspicion, deep-rooted in the minds of the Mahomedans, regarding the intentions of the Imperial Government on this question. Though the Viceroy is not unmindful of the gravity of the situation, I do feel that a declaration of British policy is necessary in order to conciliate the Mahomedan sentiment.

So far as I am aware, there are three points involved: first, the one regarding the Khilaphate and the possession of Turkey; second, regarding Holy Mecca and Medina; regarding Palestine. Briefly put, your contention is that the pre-war status should be restored. With the Mahomedan countrymen, the temporal and spiritual power go hand in hand. I can. therefore, understand the Mahomedan sentiment against any dismemberment of Turkey. But it has been stated by *The Times of India* amongst others that there is as yet no authoritative and representative statement of the Mahomedan claim. You and you alone can mend this omission. There should be a calm, dispassionate and reasoned statement of the Mahomedan claim. In my humble opinion, you should set forth your minimum demands in such a way as to appeal to any impartial student of such matters. Time is running fast and unless you make a move at once in the desired direction, it may be too late to do anything; for the League of Nations is making rapid progress, as rapid as it is possible to make in view of world interests that are to be affected by its deliberations. And when you have drawn up the statement of your claim, you have to see how to enforce it.

It may be asked why I, a Hindu, bother my head about the Mahomedan question. The answer is that as you are my neighbours and my countrymen, it is my duty to share your sorrows. I cannot talk about Hindu-Mahomedan unity and fail in giving effect to the idea when the test has come. And you know that I touched the Mahomedan question in my published letter addressed to H. E. The Viceroy immediately after the war conference that was held at Delhi. Since then I have never failed whenever the occasion has arisen, to submit my views to the proper quarters. It now remains for me to consider how your claim may be enforced. Naturally the chosen method is to make representations to the Government. Sometimes the Government do not see eye to eye with us. What are we to do under such circumstances? If we had the franchise and

responsible Government, we could by our vote turn that Government out of power. But in the absence of any such effective methods of making our will felt, what are we to do? When people have become enraged against governments for a deliberate failure to carry out their wishes, they have resorted to violence and I know that many consider that violence is the only remedy open to them when ordinary agitation has failed. This is an age-long remedy. I consider it to be barbarous and I have endeavoured to place before the people and the Government another remedy which does away with violence in any shape or form and is infinitely more successful than the latter. I feel we are not justified in resorting to violence for asserting our rights. It is noble by far to die than to kill. Had it not been for my talks with Barisahib, I would have hesitated to talk to you on a subject which is deeply religious. But he assured me that there was warrant enough for *satyagraha* in the *Holy Koran*. He agreed with the interpretation of the *Koran* effect that whilst violence under certain well-defined circumstances is permissible, self-restraint is dearer to God than violence, and that is the law of love. That is *satyagraha*-violence is a concession to human weakness, *Satyagraha* is an obligation. Even from a practical standpoint, it is easy enough to see that violence can do no good and can only do infinite harm, as we have seen in Ahmedabad and Viramgam. You will have further illustration on Sunday. I have advised a *satyagraha hartal* accompanied by fasting and prayer. I hope that you will all join the great demonstration of honour, sorrow and protest as an honour to an Englishman who has served India so well and so faithfully, sorrow that he has been deported and protest against the ill-advised action of the Government. These are common causes among us and I hope that you will take your full share in this demonstration. Its success lies in its being absolutely peaceful and voluntary and if we are that we need neither the police nor the military. When *satyagraha* becomes the accepted *creed* of India, the aeroplanes will cease to frighten us and when we provide no occasion for the use of machineguns at Colaba and elsewhere, they would be overlaid with earth, grass will grow upon them and our children will play upon them.

Maulvi Abdul Raoof then moved the following resolution:---

Resolved that the Viceroy and Governor General of India be requested to announce a British policy in concert with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister, which may be laid before the Peace Conference through the British representatives whose object would be (1) to settle the question of the Khalifate in accordance with the wishes of the Muslims in India; (2) to entrust the guardianship of the holy places, such as Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Kerbala, Kaxo-maina, Baghdad, etc., to the *Khalifatul Mussalmin*; (3) to desist from the proposed dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; (4) that Constantinople, which has been the seat of the Khalifate for four centuries and which is predominantly Muslim by faith and Turkish by race must remain the capital of the Turkish Empire. That the fulfilment of the above questions in their entirety will bring about the restoration of normal feelings among the Muslims of India, and remove the tremendous discontent and unrest that exist, and that therefore this meeting earnestly prays that His Majesty's Britannic Government will cause a declaration to be issued at an early date in India, bearing on the question as such declaration will bring forth an era of peace,, calmness and tranquillity so very essential *td* the good and orderly governance of India.

The resolution was carried.

[*Young India*, 14th May 1919

CWMG, Vol. XV, PP. 295 to 299]

Mr. Gandhi said as follows in Gujarati: —

Mr. President sahib and brothers, I hope you will excuse me if I sit down and deliver my address. I cannot stand and make a speech. Such is the state of my health. I am sure you will excuse me for sitting and then making a speech. If I stand up, my head becomes giddy. I intend to speak in Gujarati. I think you all understand it. If you do understand it, kindly, raise your hands, because if you do not understand it, I shall speak in broken Urdu but want to speak in Gujarati particularly, because I know that I can explain my views better in Gujarati than in Urdu. Therefore I shall speak in Gujarati. (Hands were raised signifying that the audience understood Gujarati). Our President has told you about his correspondence with me when he was in England. I admit that. I also admit that from my very childhood I had this one idea that between the Hindus and Mussulmans there should be no difference of opinion. They are born in one country and, therefore, whatever be their religions, they should be of one heart, and that between them no "*Tafavat*" (Disagreement) should take place. I went to South Africa for the case of a Mus-salman brother. After going there and having made my permanent or semi-permanent home there that was done at the instance of many Mus-salman brethren I have been thinking of their political troubles. I had seen their difficulties, I am intimately acquainted with their grievances. When I went to England and reached there on the 6th of August 1914, I heard that on the 4th the great war had commenced between England and her allies on the one hand and Germany and her allies on the other. In a short time Turkey threw in her lot on the side of Germany. In regard to Turkish questions I read some letters in the *London Times*. I used to read the paper every morning to watch and see what Turkey was going to do. I had sympathy for the Mussalman brethren. I came in contact with their leaders in England occasionally. One morning I read that Turkey had consented to join Germany. Then my feeling was this whether Turkey was right or wrong—I had no material before me to judge whether she was right or wrong. I said to God "Oh, God protect Mussalmans" because I knew the feelings of the Mussalmans brethren in South Africa when there was war between Tripoli and Italy. The significance of the war with Tripoli could only be realised if the geography and history of the place was known to people. I said to myself, when I read in the *London Times* that Turkey had consented to join Germany "what will be the result of this alliance". No one could see that. Subsequently, in January 1915, I returned to India and my feeling about my Moslem brethren was deepened. I said if in India we could do anything, it was the important duty of bringing about unity between Hindus and Moslems. I always thought that I would rather die in bringing about this unity than by contracting a disease. I did not expect my death would come about through any disease, because my health was all right. My intention was to bring about the unity between these two communities by some means or other, unity which no man could break. My other idea was about *satyagraha*. It is a great question. There is no greater question than that. It includes many other questions. It includes even the question of the aforesaid unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. I have read the Hindu *Shastras*, and I have read the Islamic *Shastras*, and I have read the Parsi *Shastras*. I have read all these books, and I have come to this conclusion that

satyagraha is the best remedy for all complaints. I do not want to say very much on that subject today. I have come here to give some advice to my Moslem brethren. I have come to serve them. With that object I came to India. My first duty was when I came to India, to find out such Moslem brethren who would give their lives for truth and for unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. Though the two communities are of two different religions, they must have a common heart for the fulfilment of the political aspirations. Therefore, as soon as I came to India, I went to Delhi. There was no upheaval there. I had no idea of Mr. Shaukat Ali then. I did not know him then. I did not also know Principal Rudra. Accidentally both the brothers Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali came to me. About this incident I have to tell you this. That some people always see me, although I do not know them. As soon as I saw them I thought that I knew them from my birth. They also thought that they knew me from their birth. From that time there has been a "*gath*" (tie) between them and myself which is not broken and cannot be broken. Through these brothers I saw other Mussalman brethren. We then came to talk with Dr. Ansari and Mr Abdul Rahim. You know them. Then I saw and became acquainted with Abdul Bari of Lucknow at the Aligarh College. I stayed in his house at Lucknow when I went there because I knew him. When I was at his place I want to see him in connection with *satyagraha*. We had talk on *satyagraha* and on that occasion he treated me most hospitably and most affectionately and I need not explain to you in detail what passed between him and me on the subject of *satyagraha* on that occasion. The conversation lasted for a long time, for several hours. We there discussed the Moslem questions on which the heart of my Moslem brethren was wounded. On that question I carried on correspondence with Government with the Viceroy, to whom I wrote an open letter. I placed before him the whole of the Islamic questions. The Moslem question is a very "*gambhir*" (serious) question. The reform question—the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme question is also a very great question. We have to ask for "*dad*" (redress) of our grievances from Government. The earnest attention of Government is necessary to be paid to this question. We have not to live the lives of luxury. We bear pain. Otherwise we shall never become fit for *swaraj*. We should not forget that we have to do excellent work in the country. We have to study the grievances of our neighbours. Not to live in luxury but to do good to our neighbours. is our war-cry. The neighbours should not be discontented. We have to see that our Mussalman brothers are free from pain. We have to take part and share in their pain. There can be no pain which will break their hearts and not ours. If their hearts are wounded, our pain should be increased. We have to consider the question of how to increase the happiness for the Mussalman brothers. How to seek our and their happiness for the present and for the future is the question that should be under our consideration. We should feel for the "*afat*" (mishap) that has come upon our Mussalman brothers. The question of this *afat* has to be considered. The *afat* on our Mussalman brothers is an *afat* on us too. We cannot bear to see that they should labour under the *afat* without our taking some share in it. Such are the many and important questions that we have to consider. We are foolish enough to confine our attention to one question or other. The British people consider many such questions. They do not consider the question of the Army. but also the question of the five crores of Mussalmans in the country. How to satis'y the hearts of these people is also one of the questions before them. For us to consider, there is this question that if the hearts of the five crores of Mussalmans are wounded, the hearts of all the 30 crores of people are also wounded. We have to make a common demand. The

Mussalmans have to make their demand very clearly. They should make such a demand as we would secure the approval of the whole world, which will say that this demand is proper. You have to make a specific demand regarding the Khilafat and regarding Mecca, Medina, etc. Though I am not a Mussalman, I can well appreciate the feelings of my Mussalman brothers on this subject. I have read the *Koran*. I have studied the Mahomedan *Shastras*. I can understand the significance of the demand to be made by the Mussalman brothers. I can understand their demands as well as they themselves can understand it. The question of Palestine should be decided with justice. Why should Palestine be handed over to the Jews? I have considered this matter, but I am not able to give you a final reply. Of course, there should be a limitation to our consideration of the question. There is a "add" to our limitation. The desire of the Mussalman brothers naturally is that Palestine should be under the Mussalman Sultanate. And the reason is obvious. Up to the other day it was under Mahomedan Rule. It was under Mussalman Sultanate. The Mussalman brothers want to retain it in their own hands. I think Palestine should be in the hands of the Mussalman Sultanate. Palestine being under the Mahommadan Sultanate, it is the duty of the British Government to protect it as against the ownership of any non-Mahomedan power. I think the Mussalman brothers should consider these questions (with moderation) within certain limitations. What demands our Mussalman brothers will make ought to be conceded. We must be useful to the Mussalman brothers. We must participate in their pain. Hindus are bound to help them. They must help them unasked. Mussalmans should not be made to wait and ask for our help. Our hearts being united, there should be no ground for " *takrar*" (complaint) among themselves. If we do complain we will be behaving like fools. Hitherto we were behaving like fools in fighting with the Mussalman brothers. We should not fight like fools. Now that we are thinking of living as of one heart, why should we fight among ourselves? We have become one, and no one can divide us. I think that the Mussalman brothers have not explained their case properly to the Government. I feel it is their duty to do so. I said to Abdul Bari. I told him that Hindu would spontaneously help his coreligionists if they know exactly what case the latter have placed before Government. Crores of Mussalmans have to make a specific demand. They have not yet made it. There should be such a demand made on behalf of five crores of Mussalmans of India. What their feeling is Government do not know. The best proof of the fact that Government do not know what five crores of Mussalmans want is what appeared four or five days back in the *Times of India*. You all know that there was lately a meeting here of the All-India Congress Committee under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, It decided to represent certain matters to Government. A telegram was sent to that effect to Government. In criticising that representation of the Committee, the *Times* suggested that what demand the Mussalmans want to make the British Government do not know. You cannot say my argument is this that your demand has been clearly placed before Government. Therefore, I have come to warn you to advise you to place what you want before Government in a clear manner. The President of the Muslim League has touched upon this subject in his address (at Delhi), but he has not enlarged on the point to any particular degree. This question should be treated by itself. It ought not to be mixed up with other questions. It is, therefore, the duty of the Mussalman leaders to place before Government the case of their community at large. They should state how the complaint arose of which

they want to speak to Government. You deserve all sympathy and, therefore, I have to complain to you that you have not done your duty of placing your wants before the authorities. What "*chhez*" (thing) you have not placed before Government, you should do now. It is not my duty to place before Government what your case is. That is your own business. Only I will help you. You will have to place before me proper materials. I will do what I think is proper after hearing you. You place before me a blanket (outlines of your case) and I may be able to convert it into a *shawl* (well-conceived representation). I can assure you that Hindus feel that their hearts are as much wounded as yours in this matter. If you place a proper demand before Government, the world cannot find fault with you. But you must not lose time in placing your case before Government. Time is flying fast. One minute is equal to one year. If you allow even a few months to pass without doing anything in the matter, remember, there is a likelihood of great changes taking place, of which you can have no idea. Try to place your case before the authorities. Suppose you make a mistake that does not matter. You think of the case of the pots made in their crude shape by the potter. Mistakes in the initial stage of the manufacture can be rectified later on. Say to Government "such and such is our grievance, and if you do not remove it, it will make us, "*ashant*" — non-peaceful. Remove from our minds the cause of becoming non-peaceful ". So there is a great work before you, If you do not do it, you will not be able to protect your interests, and I shall not be able to help you. Now before I conclude, I have to refer to another point. How are you going to attain your object. There is no better remedy than *satyagraha*. in India we have to do nothing but to work without fighting. We have to do no fighting. *Satyagraha* is our last weapon (" *Chhela shasra* "). If the Hindus and Mussalmans fight, they will add to their burden of troubles (*bow*). If we have not to fight, what shall we do? With humility ask Government that our rights should be given to us. That is our demand. We shall keep on making that demand. We are not going to make "*khuna-marki*" (murders and pillage). Those living outside the British Empire can fight with that Empire. That is the history of the world. In India we cannot fight with Government. I have read our *Shastras*. I have got thirty years' experience of these things, and I have come to the conclusion that there is only one royal road the road of *satyagraha* to reach the goal. It is a royal road. It is not "*jungli*" road. The road is one on which we say " we shall not kill but shall be killed " ("*March nahi, pan marish* "). The moral is that we shall do our best to gain our object by fair means. More we cannot do; that is to say, we cannot say what the result of our action will be. It may be that what we call ' justice', may be " injustice ". But we should not do what we ourselves fear is injustice. Never do an unjust act and then become repentant ("*paschattap*"). We have to court death in the name of our rights. It is everybody's right to attack a wicked man. But it is not his right to do it by means except that of *satyagraha* I have discussed this question with Abdul Bari. He told me that all that I was telling him was to be found in the *Koran*. If you are prepared to die, you can get the article of your choice. You can take it You have to show the world that you are prepared to die for your rights. Many people are ready to fight for their rights, but they do not seem to understand what the rights are that they are going to fight for. As long as you want to have a particular thing, you cannot appreciate another thing. Your fight must be the fight of "*prem* " (affection) of "*mohabat*" (friendship), and of justice. Mrs. Naidu gave you the same advice on the last occasion when she addressed you in the Sonapur Mosque (on 6th April

1919). God is not of the Mussalmans only. He is of the whole world, it is therefore, our duty to treat the whole world with " *mohabat* ". I shall make *satyagraha* and fall at your feet in that spirit. I shall thus make the authorities withdraw the Rowlatt Act. I will give my life but I shall never submit to the Rowlatt Act. I shall also interfere with other laws, if I find that those laws are not beneficial to the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. I shall break Laws that will cause " *nuksan* " (loss) to the subject-people. Otherwise, I shall not break any laws. This is then the royal road. We should respect goods laws. They will not cause any loss to us. Those laws should be protected. In my mind there is no doubt about it. You have to respect laws. You have to protect laws. But how can people protect laws unless they understand that they are proper laws? *Satyagraha* is the best weapon you can handle when you want to oppose anything. I have full confidence in *satyagraha*, so that I shall place it before you. If you do not accept this weapon, I fear (*dhasti*) that you will not be able to gain your object in view. I do not say you will not gain it at all. For instance, suppose you make a request to Government, and they do not grant that request, then displeasure in your heart will ensue today. Tomorrow that feeling will grow and then you will take to murderous acts. What I want to say I shall say openly. I shall not say it in a private room. There are detectives about me sitting here. I have to protect them. They are not to protect me. If they come it will be beneficial to me and to them also. There is no idea of " *burace* " (mala-fides) in my mind. I am not presumptuous. Today I am doing everything that is all right. Tomorrow, I may become " *bevakoo* " (foolish). There is no knowing. But at this moment in my heart there is no idea of " *burace* " (mala-fides). Such is my heart. From childhood I have received this sort of " *talim* " (training). There will be no " *bevakoo* " about me. My experience is this. If anyone raises his sword against me and places it on my neck, he will find me smiling in that position. Then I shall not think of anything but pray to God. If India does not get her rights, what will be the result? The result will be this, that the rights will be trampled under foot, and India will become " *bairagi* " (a beggar). You know what took place at Ahmedabad and other places. What " *khunamarki* " took place there. These things arise because people are displeased. You should get over your complaints by making a proper representation to the authorities. Your question is about your *Caliphat*. If Turkey is divided, your temporal and spiritual heads will be divided. God is not so " *bhola* " (simple) (as not to understand the machinations of man). He is watching us for all 24 hours. He punishes him who is working not in a straight way. It is, therefore, your duty to let Government know what you want. You protect your interests. Nothing should go out of your hands. The article that belongs to you should not pass out of your hands. That article should remain with you in your hands. That you can keep in your hands by means of *satyagraha*. I think I have taken much of your time. I thank you for patiently listening to my remarks. I ask you to discuss your grievances " *pet bharine* " (to your heart's content), watching when the last sand passes out of the bottle (refers to the sand-clock in vogue in the past). I have-placed before you my views. I have told you how high has risen the mercury in the thermometer of the feelings of your people in connection with these few subjects. I came here as a thief to steal your heart. I shall preserve that heart well in my pocket. If you want it back, then I would ask you to observe Sunday next as the day of humiliation. On that day, we, Hindus and Mussalmans, shall be one in heart. They cannot have any difference of opinion. Their demand will be one. That demand is the

removal of the Rowlatt Act from the Statute Book. Tomorrow we shall not be angry or force anyone to do anything against his will. I request you to treat everyone with "*mohabat*". I don't say you should retrace your paces. No whatever happens, if our bones are broken, we shall not go backwards. We shall work with "*mohabat*". We do not care for the police for our protection. We shall keep peace ourselves. The whole world will admire our conduct. Martial Law will be useless, maximum guns will be useless, aeroplanes, weapons will be useless against us. These can be used (outside India. Even a child will say that they are of no use in India, because ours is a loyal satyagraha agitation. There is no doubt about it. (Subdued cheers).

Pages 404-405, Para 666.

Bombay, May 8th.—The following is a brief note of an interview I (P.C.) had with Gandhi on the 8th instant:

I asked Gandhi if he had seen the letter which Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali had addressed to the Viceroy. He replied that Umar Sobani had shown it to him. He said that Umar Sobani had not distributed the pamphlet among Mahomedans and that he had refrained from doing so under his (Gandhi's) instructions. In further conversation he said that while he did not think that Umar Sobani was a revolutionary, he was frank and open by nature and he (Gandhi) thought that if Umar felt convinced that a revolution was the best way to secure the well-being of India, he would not hesitate to adopt such methods. He thought that in such a case Umar Sobani would plainly tell him (Gandhi) of his intentions and Gandhi would in that case tell me. He did not think this was inconsistent, even though Umar Sobani might know that secrecy was essential to the success of the revolution. Gandhi did not know whether or not the letter had been despatched to the Viceroy. He hoped that it had not because he thought that the letter was unreasonable and foolish. He felt partly responsible for the letter because when the orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab were, served on him he sent a verbal message to Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali advising them to break the orders restricting them under the Defence of India Act, but before doing so to write to Viceroy a temperate letter setting forth in detail the grievances of the Mahomedans.

Gandhi said that he had written a letter to the Viceroy suggesting that a solution to the Mahomedan question must be found. In reply to a further question he said that he thought that the only solution possible was for Turkey to receive back the territories which she possessed before the war with suitable guarantees for good government.

He said that affairs on the border and in Afghanistan had caused him to think seriously as to his programme for the future. He had arranged for a meeting of Mahomedans tomorrow. He had not heard since whether it was finally settled that the meeting was to take place or not.

Page 416, Para 68.

Bombay, May 19th.—Charlie is apparently C. F. Andrews. Andrews. arrived in Bombay on the night of Friday the 16th May. Met Gandhi and left for Ahmedabad with him and Anusuyaben a couple of hours later. All three returned to Bombay on Monday the 19th.

Page 462, Para 754.

Bombay, May 23rd.—During the current month the *satyagraha* campaign has not been vigorously conducted, and I have therefore not sent in. daily reports. Gandhi returned to Bombay from Ahmedabad on the 19th instant. On the evening of that date, he attended a *satyagraha* meeting at the

Morarji Gokuldas Hall at 9 p.m. There were no speeches, but general discussion on *satyagraha* activities during Gandhi's absence took place. Gandhi emphasised the importance of conducting enquiries into the possibilities of *swadeshi* industries. One of the *satyagrahis* proposed that Gandhi should start a paper to take the place of the *Chronicle*. Gandhi replied that he was not inclined to start a paper, but that he preferred to educate the people by oral discussion on the subjects of *swadeshi* and *satyagraha*. He had decided to call *satyagraha* meetings twice a week, namely, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. One Vithaldas Vasanji Jairajani proposed that in view of the removal of the military posts from the City, from which it could be inferred that Government felt renewed confidence in the people, civil disobedience to laws should be renewed. Gandhi replied that he was not satisfied that it would be safe to restart these activities and that he would not do so until next July.

On the 21st a meeting of *satyagrahis* was announced for 9 p.m. at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall but at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha* on the same day at 6-30 p.m. Gandhi was informed that the Hall was not available for the *satyagraha* meeting. He therefore, gave orders that two *satyagrahis* should go to the hall and inform those that came to the meeting that it had been postponed. It appears, however, that nobody went. The result was that about 150 *satyagrahis* and sympathisers collected on the road outside the hall. They were unable to discover why the hall was not open and after waiting for some time a number of them decided to go and see Gandhi to ask him to explain the matter. About 100 of them reached Gandhi's house about 10-15. When Gandhi learnt this he arranged for them to be accommodated on the terrace of the house where he is staying and explained to them that sufficient notice had not been given to the Trustees of the Morarji Gokuldas Hall and therefore the hall was not available for that meeting. He said that he was glad to see that they were so eager to meet and exchange views even if it caused them considerable personal inconvenience. He asked them whether they had any questions to ask him. One Nanalal D. Upadhaya complained that Gandhi had not convened a meeting but on the contrary had prevented them from meeting in public. He enquired whether it was true that Gandhi had stopped Sayyid Hussein from holding a public meeting. Gandhi replied that it was true that Gandhi had stopped Sayyid Hussein from holding a public meeting. Gandhi replied that it was true that he had persuaded Sayyid Hussein not to address a public meeting and that he had done so because he thought that public meetings were not necessary under present circumstances. The same man again asked why John Scurr had been prevented from addressing a public meeting. To this Gandhi replied that he knew nothing about that. His questioner then asked whether Jamnadas and Umar Sobani had committed any sin in that they told lies about the prescribed pamphlets about the Ali Brothers and had then gone to the Commissioner of Police and apologised for doing so. Gandhi here reprimanded his questioner for introducing personal questions and the personal failings of other *satyagrahis* and refused to answer the question. To another *satyagrahi* who impatiently enquired when the *Satyagraha Sabha* would resume the campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi replied that impatience would lead them into a serious position. Those who wished to be violent were welcome to try it. They would go to jail as the people of the Punjab had done and instead of being sentenced to one year's imprisonment which was the ordinary punishment for such offences they would be liable to be sentenced to seven years. He advised his audience to be patient and not to break the peace.

On the 22nd there was a meeting at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall for members of the *Visa Sorathia Vanik Yuvak Mandal*. Gandhi delivered a lecture on the *swadeshi* vow. Jamnadas, Mrs. Naidu and Anusuyaben who were expected to attend were conspicuous by their absence. Gandhi repeated his old arguments about *swadeshi*. He remarked that the East India Company which had come to India to trade had remained to rule, and that they had been able to rule because the trade of their country was in their hands. If Indians had acquired control over the trade of the country there was no reason to suppose that they would not be able to attain the position of the East India Company. To one of the audience who enquired whether English or foreign made watches might be used Gandhiji replied that so long as India was not able to make watches they might use foreign ones. This meeting was attended by about 200 Sorathia Banias.

SPEECH ON SWADESHI VOW, BOMBAY

June 4, 1919

Gandhiji presided at the inaugural ceremony of " *The Hindi Vastra Pra-sarak Mandali*" at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay, on June 4, 1919.

Mr. Gandhi explained in a few words what Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer¹ had said in English, for the benefit of those who did not know English. He said that unless they—every one of them—resolved to use only *swadeshi* goods as much as possible, there could not be any hope for the country. If they could take the *swadeshi* vow, so much the better; but if they could not, then they must firmly resolve to use *swadeshi* goods as much as possible. They must also resolve to use Indian-made cotton goods, so that not only India's weavers might get employment, but their wives and children also. He hoped they would take to heart all that Mr. Aiyer had told them that evening and act accordingly.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 5th June 1919.

CWMG, Vol XV, P. 342]

Pages 505-507, Para 791.

(a) *Bombay, May 30th.*—I* had an interview with Gandhi on the 27th instant. He informed me then in the course of conversation that he was holding a private conference at his bungalow the following day. He had addressed a circular letter to certain friends at (1) Delhi, (2) Allahabad, (3) Ahmedabad, (4) Patna and (5) Madras, telling them that he considered that the time had come to take stock and inviting them to come to Bombay to have an informal conference with him. He did not expect more than half a dozen people. He informed me that his primary object in summoning the conference was to explain clearly and definitely to *satyagrahis* of other provinces that it was his intention to confine his own activities entirely to the Bombay Presidency and that they must not look to him either directly or indirectly to take an active part in the movement beyond the confines of this Presidency. The secondary object of the conference he said was to discuss the general lines of the campaign to be initiated on July the 1st.

Gandhi left for Ahmedabad the same night (31st May 1919).

¹1879; Dewan of Travancore; Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.

*Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Page 526, Para, 827. [a].

(a) *Bombay, June 10th.*—The Jamnadas formally resigned the *Satyagraha Sabha* on the 3rd instant. With his resignation he handed into Gandhi his 'message' addressed to the Associated Press which Gandhi corrected and approved. Gandhi told certain *satyagrahis* that he had compelled Jamnadas to resign because as a *satyagrahi* he could not continue to be member of the National Home Rule League of Mrs. Besant. There is no doubt that Gandhi feels very bitterly the defection both of Jamnadas and Swami Shradhanand.

Six volunteers for the Punjab assembled at Gandhi's house to sign on the morning of the 4th. Gandhi announced to them that he intended to practice civil disobedience on three main issues, viz., (1) salt, (2) revenue and (3) education. He had detailed a Mahratta to go to the Royal Asiatic Society and collect all the information he could as regard the production, sale, taxation and disposal of salt. Apparently Gandhi's object is to write a series of pamphlets dealing with the administration of the salt, revenue and educational departments in order to prepare the public to disobey civilly the orders of Government on these questions. Gandhi then delivered a lecture to the six candidates as to their duties as volunteers for duty in the Punjab. He said that he expected implicit obedience and blind compliance with his orders. He said that they might be required to go either to the Punjab or to Madras and that Swami Shradhanand had said that the *Satyagraha Sabha* 'it Delhi had practically ceased to exist. Gandhi sent away the six candidates to think over the matter and told them to report again on the 7th.

A meeting of the *satyagrahis* was held at 9 p.m. on the 6th June in the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, some 200 being present. Elaborate precautions were taken to see that strangers were not admitted. Gandhi opened the proceedings by stating that no *satyagrahi* should question him about the resignation of Jamnadas and Shradhanand; those who doubted the efficacy of *satyagraha* had better resign; also those who did not agree with him in thinking it was necessary to start civil disobedience on the 1st of July. After the meeting was over there was an informal meeting of *satyagraha volunteers* who complained—

1. That their uniform made them look like convicts, and
2. That Captain was rude to them when they were late for parade.

Gandhi disclaimed responsibility for the dress regulations which he said had been drawn up by Umer Sobani. As regards the complaints against their Captain, it was important to be punctual at drill. Gandhi however promised to speak to the Captain and to advise him not to be too strict a martinet. When the meeting broke up adverse comments were heard on all sides as to the change in Gandhi's demeanour.

Next day, 15 *satyagrahis* came to Gandhi's house to sign on as volunteers for the Punjab. Gandhi asked them whether they had consulted their parents, their wives and their children and whether they had obtained their sanction to their going to the Punjab and facing imprisonment or death. They replied that they were men of mature understanding and that they saw no necessity to seek the consent of their parents or children to their actions. Naturally, they said their relations would not jump at the idea of their going to the Punjab to meet an untimely end. Gandhi refused to consider their case and said that he did not think they were suitable men to be employed on this work. He reiterated that he was determined at all

costs to start full *satyagraha* on the 1st of July. Gandhi announced that he had spent much of his time with Jinnah and Mrs. Naidu who were going to England and that he gave them certain instructions. I am informed that he has written four letters which Mrs. Naidu is to deliver for him in England. One is addressed to Horniman, one to Henry Pollock and the other two to Englishmen whose names my agent cannot remember.

S. G. Banker has procured 500 black flags which are now stored in the *satyagraha* Office, for what purpose we do not yet know.

There is no doubt that Gandhi is now keenly aware of the fact that he is losing influence, for 100 *satyagrahis* have resigned since the middle of April and, with the exception of Umer Sobani and S. G. Banker, he can count on no one of importance to follow him blindly. This opinion was confirmed in an interview which I* had on the 7th instant with Jamnadas. He told me that Gandhi was restless and worried and that in his (Jamnadas) opinion Banker and Sobani were exploiting him. Jamnadas himself is very anxious to leave India. He receives threatening and anonymous letters and is altogether rather unhappy in his beloved motherland !

I am informed that it is contemplated to print an issue in July, as part of the programme of civil disobediences, and Urdu translation which is being prepared of the Ali Brothers' letter. I am making further enquiries on this point.

LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Laburnum Road, Bombay
(June 6, 1919).

My dear Henry,

I see you have been wrestling with Cotton. I think he has floored you with his quotation from the Servant of India. But both you and I have survived the fall. I rejoice (almost) in the wreckage about me. Shradha-nandji gone. Mr. Jamnadas has left. Some others may follow suit. These occurrences do not baffle me as does violence from the people. But I approach the 1st of July with confidence. The Government are prepared for emergencies. And I shall avoid all demonstration. Civil disobedience will be intensive, not extensive, this time. Please make it clear to Mr. Montagu that there can be no peace in India without the withdrawal of Rowlatt legislation. He is badly served by the permanent officials here. Take the horrible misrepresentations about Mr. Homiman. The real reason for his deportation will probably be never given. Read YOUNG INDIA carefully. Most of the leading articles are mine. I am virtually editing it. See the Sind article². More revelations are yet to come. If Mr. Montagu wants to do justice, he has to do things with belter eyes than those of the officials who, wishing to support a system to which they owe their present position, cannot be expected to give him an impartial version of affairs. Rowlatt Act must go. Mahomedans should be satisfied and substantial reforms granted. For the Punjab tragedy, an impartial committee with the power to revise sentences is an absolute necessity. Give these 4 things, and peace can be had in this unhappy land. There will be plenty so long as India is exploited for Britain's sake. Take the second

* Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

¹Only articles signed by Gandhiji or approved as his from other evidence are reproduced in this volume.

²Vide "Sind Illegality", Young India, 28th May 1919.

increase in the rate of exchange. It means a loss to India of crores of rupees without any corresponding gain. It means a bonus to Lancashire and to the Civilians. But these matters can be adjusted if people's minds are eased by the relief above mentioned. Rowlatt legislation represents the Government's determination to defy public opinion. The attitude is intolerable on the eve of Reforms.

This will be presented to you by Mrs. Naidu. She is a wonderful women. I have compared her to Mirabai I have seen nothing to alter that opinion. She will give all my messages of love to you and the family.

Yours,
BHAI.

PS.—Will you contribute to *Young India*? I wish you would.

[From the Manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Dairy.]

Courtesy: Narayan Desai.

CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 345]

Page 527, Para 827.

Bombay, June 10th.—The *Chronicle* continues to appear with its editorial columns conspicuously blank. Gandhi was informed by Banker that the Censor objected to this; Gandhi replied that in his opinion the editorial columns should remain blank as a protest until the censorship was removed. Two of the Directors of the *Chronicle*, viz., T. N. Malvi and S. N. Dabholkar objected to the editorial columns being kept blank bin the other Directors said that they were not inclined to disregard Gandhi's advice in this particular case. In consequences of this Malvi resigned and it is said that Dabholkar intends following suit. Meanwhile P. E. Dinshaw is watching the situation carefully and will act when he considers the time is ripe.

Gandhi has told his secretary that he has advised that copies of the *Chronicle* as at present issued should be sent to the editors of various papers in England and foreign countries, particularly in America, in order to show them how ruthless is the control of Government upon the Indian press. He has hopes that a copy will fall into the hands of President Wilson.

Page 529, Para 834.

(a) *Poona, June 11th.*—The Secretary, S. D. Writes—(1) The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, is being moved to revise his order under section 3(I) of the Press Act, 1910, dispensing with security in the case of the "New Jain Press", Bombay and to impose a security of Rs. 2,000 on account of an objectionable Gujarati leaflet printed at that press entitled " *The Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi*" a translation of which is given below: —

The Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi

(1) Becoming *satyagrahis* we shall fight for truth, we shall live in jail for our country.

(2) You may at your pleasure put the chains (of) your laws on our hands; we shall bear that for our country.

(3) Oh, the Pandava and the Kaurava have gone, having left India. See, Chouhan Prithviraj is gone, having left India.

(4) Mother Hind is a virgin, she will not choose (in marriage) any one. Oh, she shall today judge between right and wrong.

(5) Gokhale and Gandhi are the preceptors of our schools; Gokhale and Gandhi are the preceptors who will remove our troubles.

(6) For the sake of our country (We) do not take (our) meals in comfort; for the sake of our country (we) do not sleep in comfort.

(7) If (they) make (you) dance on the edge of the sword, let them do it at their pleasure; if (they) wage a great war, let them do it at their pleasure.

(8) If (they) make (you) give up the Lakshmi (goddess) of happiness, oh, you abandon her; if (they) set fire to the house, let them do it at their pleasure.

Let the murder be committed to the holy father and mother along with the family; in spite of that, bow down your neck willingly for the sake of the country.

Composer Labhshankar Harijivandas Dihorkar.

Tilak is the diamond of India, the remover of the trouble of the people; although fetters are being put on (his) hands, still he becomes valiant. Some are such eunuchs that they become a burden to the people, willing accepters of bribes, holding (their) names among the great.

If ants mount on the adder, how long can they remain alive? If the ass eats sugar, how long can he remain alive?

Page 534, Para 840.

*Bombay, June 16th—*M. K. Gandhi presided over a ladies' meeting on the 13th instant at the Jain Mangrol Sabha Hall and exhorted them to use *Swadeshi* Cloth and to take the *Swadeshi* vow regardless of the dictates of fashion.

About 200 Gujarati ladies attended. Miss Anusayaben was present.

Pages 536-39, Para 849.

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 16th:—

The following is a brief account of the meeting held on the 31st May 1919 at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, to record an appreciation of B. G. Tilak's services to India and to appeal for funds for the Tilak Purse.

M. K. Gandhi, proposed by Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar, took the chair.

The following were some of the prominent persons who attended: —

- (1) Yeshwantrao ("Anna Saheb") Vishnu Nene.
- (2) Narandas Purushotamdas.
- (3) Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe.
- (4) Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar ("Dada Saheb").
- (5) Vithaldas VasANJI Jairajani.
- (6) Dr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh.
- (7) Dr. Dinkar Dhonde Sathaye.
- (8) Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar.

Gandhi on taking the chair made a speech in Gujarati to the following effect:

Between Tilak and himself there existed a difference as regards the manner in which the ideal, which they had in common, should be attained.

At the same time he gratefully acknowledged Tilak's yeoman services to the Motherland and for this reason had attended the meeting with the object of laying before them their indebtedness to Tilak and proposing that his expenses in the Tilak-Chirol case be defrayed by Public subscription.

Lawyers in the audience would agree with him that the verdict in a court of law depended on several factors such as the personality of the Judge, the powers of the counsel and the place of trial. There was much truth in the English saying that 'victory went to the longest purse'.

Since he had lost the case, the speaker felt that Tilak had lost the satisfactory sensation he would have experienced, had he been a *satya-grahi*, of being above considerations of loss or gain. At the same time his admiration for Tilak had increased when he saw that the latter, in no way discouraged by his reverse had continued to place before the English, in a constitutional manner, the political aspirations of India.

Tilak had fought the case for the benefit of his countrymen and the speaker trusted that the resolution which would now be put to the meeting would, in recognition of this fact, be carried with acclamation.

Gandhi, after having his speech read out in Marathi, called up Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ("Sarojini Devi") to move the resolution in the absence of Jamna-das Dwarkadas in whose name it stood in the agenda.

Mrs. Naidu then spoke in Urdu. She regretted the absence of Jamnadas but felt that, in thus discharging the duty which had developed upon her, she was paying homage to the "Great Rishi". Tilak who had spent the whole of his life with selfless devotion for the betterment of his countrymen.

She then read out the following resolution in English:

"That this meeting puts on records its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokmanya Tilak to the Motherland during the last forty years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen generously to contribute to the *Tilak Purse Fund* started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case, which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest".

TRIBUTE TO B. G. TILAK, BOMBAY

Bombay
May 31.1919

A public meeting was held on Saturday evening at Shantaram's Chawl, Girgum, Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Tilak to India and calling upon his countrymen to contribute to the expenses incurred by him in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. The following is a full translation of his speech in Gujarati:

I am thankful to the organizers of the meeting for asking me to preside. The goal of every thinking Indian must be the same, though the methods for its attainment may be different and it is a matter known to all that my ways differ from Mr. Tilak's. And yet I would wish to heartily associate myself with every occasion to pay a tribute to his great services to the country, his self-sacrifice, and his learning and with the present occasion in especial. The nation does not honour him any the less for his defeat in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. It honours him, if that were possible, all the more, and this meeting is but a token of it. I have come to offer my hearty support to it.

Truly speaking, I am in no love with fighting in law courts. Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case. Any experienced *vakil* will bear me out that it depends more on the Judge, the counsel, and the venue of the court. In English there is a proverb that it is always the

man with the longest purse that wins. And there is a good deal of truth in this as there is exaggeration in it. The Lokamanya's defeat therefore made me only wish he was a *satyagrahi* like me, so that he would have saved himself the bother of victory or defeat. And when I saw that far from losing heart at the result of his case, far from being disappointed, he faced the English public with cool resignation and expressed his views to them with equal fearlessness, I was proud of him. He has been in his life acting to the very letter up to what he has believed to be the essential teaching of the *Gita*. He devotes himself entirely to what he believes to be his *karma*, and leaves the result thereof to God. Who could withhold admiration from one so great?

I think it our duty to contribute to the expenses of his suit. He surely did not fight for his personal ends, he fought in the public interests. I am sure, therefore, that you will accept the resolution that is going to be proposed this evening to find for Mr. Tilak the expenses of his suit, and to express our gratefulness for his services to the country .

[*Young India*, 7th June 1919.

CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 336]

Page 539.

Gandhi then put the resolution to the meeting emphasising that it was a matter of duty and not charity to help Tilak. The resolution thus put was carried unanimously, and with a vote of thanks to chairman, the meeting dissolved.

Pages 543-44, Para 853P).

(a) *Bombay, June 16.*—Jamnadas had a long interview with Gandhi on the 13th instant. He did his utmost to try and dissuade Gandhi from embarking on his campaign of Civil Disobedience pointing out that it would inevitably lead to bloodshed and disorder. Gandhi replied that he was quite aware of what he was doing and that he would watch events very carefully until the 30th instant. He declined to endorse Jamnadas's gloomy prophesies.

At 3 p.m. the same day Gandhi delivered a lecture on the *Swadeshi* vow before a meeting of the *Jain Mahila Samaj* at Pydhonie. He placed the usual stock arguments before his lady audience and there was nothing worthy of record in what he said.

He is said to be very pleased with the announcement of Mr. Montagu on the question of the Reforms and he is writing him a long letter giving him information as to the causes of the present state of unrest in India and the immediate causes of the recent riots in the Punjab and Ahmedabad.

A private meeting of the members of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha* was held at the *Satyagraha* Office at 6-30 p.m. yesterday with Gandhi in the chair.

S. G. Banker read out the circular summoning the meeting. Gandhi explained that the action of Government in connection with Kalinath Roy had compelled him to summon this meeting. In his opinion a grave in-

¹Sarojini Naidu read out in English the following resolution: "This meeting puts on record its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokamanya Tilak to the Motherland during the last forty years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen generously to contribute to the Tilak Purse Fund started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case, which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest. "

justice had been done to Roy and he felt compelled to do something to avenge the wrong. He was quite determined to start Civil Disobedience but before doing so he wanted the members of the Executive Committee to authorise him to assume uncontrolled powers to carry on the movement as he might think best. He explained that by assuming the Dictatorship in this manner he would be in the best position of the judging what cause to follow, he would be the chief sufferer himself and no valuable time would be lost in convening meetings of the Executive Committee, meetings which, he regretted to observe, were invariably scantily attended.

Kaliyanji of Surat enquired what Gandhi actually proposed to do. Gandhi replied that he would at once write a very strongly worded letter to the Viceroy taking him to task for the injustice perpetrated against Kali-nath Roy and against other victims and threatening, if these wrongs were not righted, to enter the Punjab and start Civil Disobedience which would result in commotion. The letter would be drafted in such strong language that his arrest would inevitably follow before the 30th June. At the same time he would draw up a programme to guide the future actions of the *satyagrahis*. His general idea was to form a number of groups of *satyagrahis* at various centres who would be instructed to refrain from Civil Disobedience and to confine their activities to the organisation of public meeting condemning the Rowlatt Acts and the policy of Government. He hoped by this means to excite the sympathy of the whole of India. If necessary, he himself would break the law by leaving Bombay and entering the Punjab. If he is not arrested immediately, it is his intention to call a series of public meetings in the Punjab. If he cannot get following there he will hold meetings of his own *satyagrahis*, thereby defying the law in the Punjab prohibiting meetings of more than 20 persons.

The Executive Committee decided to give Gandhi absolute power.

It is now quite clear that Gandhi has assumed the role of the leader in a Society whose avowed object is to break the laws of the land and to excite popular feelings in India with a view to making Government impossible. The *Sabha* has gradually assumed the aspect of a Secret Society and if Gandhi can command a sufficient following there is no room for doubt that his propaganda will inevitably lead to a recrudescence of the disorders which we experienced two months ago. It is difficult at present to say whether or not Gandhi will command a sufficient following to render his campaign dangerous and it is still more difficult to determine the psychological moment at which to sterilise him. If action is taken too soon, he becomes a martyr and his arrest might lead to the very condition of affairs which we are anxious to avoid. On the other hand if he is given rope he may become a danger. There is no question that he means business and this I think is evidenced by the fact that the more lukewarm of his followers are deserting. Our reports show that 8 or 10 have resigned from the *Sabha* daily for the past few days and 12 members of the Executive Committee are said to have notified their intention of resigning.

I have just seen Jamnadas. He tells me that he is still attempting to dissuade Gandhi from carrying out his vowed intentions. He has got Gandhi to promise that he will subject every *satyagrddhi* to a rigorous cross examination and persuade all but the whole-hoggers to resign before the active campaign opens.

¹ At the Morarji Gokuldas Cloth Market.

² One of the proprietors of the Store

SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY¹

June 17, 1919

The ideas which I used to express piecemeal since the year 1900 have been confirmed by my experience here in India. So long as we do not bring ourselves to observe scrupulously the rule of *swadeshi*, we shall not succeed in attaining *swaraj*. Those who have read any book on Indian history will instantly recall that the Dutch, the French and the British came to India for the sole purpose of trade. We had no navy at that time, though of course we had a merchant fleet. The concern of our people for *dharma* is evidence enough that India depended entirely on her skills for defending her trade. The kind of fine cloth which India produced then no other country did, and it was this which attracted foreign merchants to India. The tracery-work formerly done in India was so good and artistic that it had no equal anywhere else. With the advance of research, European scholars testify that our sciences, and even our holy books, went abroad following the very lines of our trade. This caught the eyes of merchants from all the three countries and they took shiploads of wonders from India. So wonderful were the things produced in the country in those days that these merchants thought it profitable to carry away shiploads of them. They also carried spices and herbs from here. This very India which was reputed to be a prosperous country, leading in trade, has fallen into the present plight, being obliged to import her needs from abroad. In no other country will you find such a state of affairs.

The Chief reason, in my view, for this miserable condition is our loss of interest in *swadeshi* goods, and you, too, if you but think, will feel the same way; for you will find no country which advanced by turning its back upon its own goods. Not many centuries have passed since free trade was introduced in England; even then, she has never permitted herself to be in the same condition in which we find ourselves (today). The people of Australia, Newzealand and of South Africa, of which I have personal experience, freely use goods produced in their own countries and impose customs duties as they think best on imported goods; for they are not dependent on such goods. We in India lost even our freedom only because we abandoned *swadeshi*. Though the Moghul Emperors are in a sense regarded as foreigners, under their rule India was not reduced to the plight which she is in today; for at that time India flourished in trade and industry and even the luxuries which surrounded the Emperors were the produce of indigenous craftsmanship so that the country's wealth remained in the country. The sight of our old monuments like the Taj Mahal, the Kutub Minar, etc., cannot but recall to us the prosperity of our by-gone days. When we scrupulously follow the law of *swadeshi*, even British rule will cease to be foreign rule and will become *swadeshi* rule. When we cease to import any goods from outside, our relations with foreign countries will no longer be based on considerations of self-interest but will be inspired by concern for general welfare. Only when all the nations of the world seek their welfare with a sense of kinship among themselves as among members of a family, will England adopt such an attitude towards us. We are not even able to follow our *dharma* of using *swadeshi*: how, then, can we compare ourselves with England? *Swadeshi* is our primary *dharma*; not to follow it and yet to hope for India's progress is like hoping to find a flower in the sky.

When *swadeshi* was introduced in Bengal, the people there were not ready for it, nor the traders. The leaders then embarked upon the task of

¹The meeting was held near Cnrnae Bunder. Gandhiji was in the chair

spreading *swadeshi* far and wide among the people, and gave it up, for, in the attempt to take too big a step, they lost everything. We should embrace again what we have abandoned all these 200 years. If we think of using everything *swadeshi* all at once, the result will be that we shall succeed in using none. I am placing before the people a programme which they can assimilate and carry out. If we start using only *swadeshi* cloth, we shall prevent the loss of 60 crores of rupees to foreign countries on that account. This will be no small gain.

The purest *swadeshi* vow will be to use cloth made out of yarn spun by one's wife, sisters and children in the home.

Even mill-made cloth cannot be treated as pure *swadeshi*, for the yarn (used in it) is produced here and (finished) on costly machines abroad with foreigners' intelligence. That means that we are entirely dependent (in respect of mill-made cloth) on foreign sources.

You will see at Narandas's shop on Thursday a stock of *swadeshi* goods which will supply the cloth required to observe the vow of undiluted *swadeshi*. The chief reason so far for our being in such a state is our lethargy and lack of patriotic sentiment. There was a time in India when they worked on perfect machines which a carpenter of ordinary abilities could make in a day.

Shri Narandas and, Shri Vithaldas have undertaken to run this pure *swadeshi* store and spread the idea throughout the country. I hope you will take advantage of this shuddha¹ *swadeshi* store.

(From Gujarati)

[Gujarati, 22nd June 1919.
CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 375]

Pages 561-68, Para 883 .

(a) *Bombay, June 20th.*—There is little of importance to report in connection with the activities of Gandhi. He has concentrated his energies upon the case of Babu Kalinath Roy of the *Tribune*, and the leader published in the last issue of *Young India* gives, I think, a pretty clear indication of the state of his mind in this respect. He has written to a number of Editors in Bombay sending them a copy of a circular letter of his dealing with the case and also extracts from *Young India*, and has asked them if they will join in the movement to secure Roy's release.

The resolution proposed by the special meeting of the Executive Council of the *Satyagraha Sabha* has been used in letter from by the Sabha and is being distributed to members.

Gandhi was examined on Commission by the Chief Presidency Magistrate on the 16th instant in connection with one of the Lahore cases. He was asked a number of controversial questions, none of which tied him down to a very definite reply. His appearance in Court caused no stir or excitement.

On the 18th instant he performed the opening ceremony of the *swadeshi* store at the Morarji Gokuldas Market, of which an account appeared in *the Chronicle*. The previous evening he held a public meeting at Carnac Bunder Bridge, and it is a significant fact that only some 200 persons attended.

¹Pure.

At 9 p.m. on the 18th instant a private meeting of *satyagrahis* was held at the Hira Baugh. Gandhi translated to them in Gujarati the resolution passed by the Executive Committee on the 15th instant. He pointed out that he had been authorised to act as he might think fit, and he had determined to reduce his instructions to writing which would serve as a guide to the Executive Committee in the event of his arrest. In these instructions he would detail exactly what was to be done in the event of a strike being declared necessary, and he would also specify which laws were to be disobeyed civilly. If he should be arrested before he had had time to write out his instructions, *satyagrahis* should obey the orders of the Executive Committee. One *satyagrahi* asked him what was to be done with reference to Horniman and Kalinath Roy. Gandhi replied that he was starting civil disobedience on account of Kalinath Roy on July the 1st. As regards Horniman, he would call a meeting and pass a resolution. Jairajani then asked what was to be done with reference to the Ali Brothers. Gandhi said that he could not discuss the case at a meeting, but he was of opinion that the Ali Brothers had committed a mistake though they were by no means as blameworthy as Government try to make out. He would write something in his instructions on this point. He announced his intention of going to Ahmedabad on the 20th instant, returning to Bombay on the 24th idem June. He would write out his detailed instructions on his return from Ahmedabad and he would start civil disobedience on the 1st *proximo*. He anticipated that this would lead to his immediate arrest, hinting thereby that he would leave for the Punjab.

On the morning of the 19th, 25 *satyagrahis* went to have a private talk with Gandhi at his house. He told them that he intended to go to jail and that he would watch with interest to see how, the *satyagrahis* behaved themselves in his absence.

I have been able to obtain a copy of the official list of the office-bearers of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha*.

Indications are wanting that Umar Sobani is losing interest in Gandhi and his doings. What the cause of this is I have not yet been able to ascertain. Umar Sobani has of late given up wearing the *swadeshi* cap which is worn by all *satyagrahis* and has reverted to his usual head dress. This may mean nothing but it is interesting.

Laburnum Road,
Bombay, 12th June 1919.

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case. I hope you will find time to peruse the case and if you agree with my views that a gross injustice has been done to Mr. Roy, I trust you will join the movement for his release. I enclose also copy of a letter addressed to a few friends outside Bombay for their support. The letter will indicate the manner in which agitation for Mr. Roy's release might be carried out.

Yours Sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

Laburnum Road,
Bombay, 11th June 1919.

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing full text of the judgment in Babu Kalinath Roy's case, the articles on which it is based, and my remarks thereon. In my opinion there should be wide and prompt agitation throughout the country for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy on

grounds of simple justice. I venture to suggest (1) a memorial by local lawyers, (2) a memorial by local editors and (3) resolutions at public meetings for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy. The lawyers' memorial will show that the conviction is legally wrong. The editors' memorial will show that they would have written nothing less than Mr. Roy wrote and public meetings will pass resolutions requesting release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of justice. If you fall in with my suggestion, I would suggest your writing to the leaders in your district to adopt similar memorials and resolutions. We ought to invite Englishmen to associate with us, if they will, asking for the redress of a clearly demonstrable injustice.

Time is of essence in this matter. Whatever is done must be done promptly. If it is a shame that the Government should permit this manifest wrong to continue it will be an equal shame after knowing the existence of a proved wrong for the public to rest still and satisfied until it is removed.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed), M. K. GANDHI.

**SPEECH ON OPENING SHUDDHA SWADESHI
VASTRA BHANDAR, BOMBAY¹**

June 18, 1919

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the meeting, said that the first thing that he would like to point out was that the idea of making money was farthest from the organizers of the Store whose only end and aim was to minister to the needs of the people, charging the least possible rates. The Store deserved their most active sympathy and support which could only be proved if a member of rich merchants followed by opening many such stores not only in Bombay, but in other parts of India.

Mr. Gandhi next read a letter from Mr. Jamnadas wherein he had expressed his inability to attend function as he had to be away at Poona, and expressed a wish that many of his brethren in Bombay would follow Mr. Narandas² example.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that there were no two opinions as to the importance of *swadeshi*. It was as much a necessity of daily life as air, water and food. The truth of this could only be realized by looking at *swadeshi* in a religious spirit. No nation on earth had risen without adopting *swadeshi* as a principle of life. It was beyond his purpose to dilate any more on the necessity and importance of *swadeshi*, he only wanted to offer a few suggestions as to how *swadeshi* could be put into practice and how it could be promoted.

This first thing was to understand one's limitations, and in the present wretchedly dependent state of the country, one could not but restrict the principle to clothing alone, India produced only twenty five per cent of cloth necessary to clothe its people. It was therefore their principal duty to produce more cloth. He wished to point out to all the members of the mercantile community? present, with all the force that he could command. that without producing a sufficient stock of pure *swadeshi* cloth, their salvation was impossible. He hoped, therefore, that those who had money and those who had expert knowledge would place their money and their knowledge at the disposal of the country.

¹ At the Morarji Gokuldas Cloth Market.

² One of the Proprietors of the store.

He asked those present to hark back to the past when *swadeshi* was practised without any effort, as effortlessly as one took in air and water, and he asked them to consider how that was possible. The simplest and the most effective contrivance of handloom rendered that possible. He did not for a moment think. Europe had a monopoly of intellect and enterprise. When other nations were leading the most primitive life, when they could find no better clothing than the bark of trees or hides of animals, Indians invented the art of growing cotton, of spinning cotton and weaving it into cloth. He believed that the intellect of the man who devised the simple spinning-wheel and the handloom was far greater than that of the man who invented the power-spindle and the power-loom.

He was glad to inform them that in the Punjab at the present moment thousands of ladies even of high families were spinning yarn in their own homes, that he had himself secured the willing service of a Punjabi lady who conducted a spinning class at his own residence in Bombay. He referred with touching effect to the fine music of the spinning-wheel that he had the privilege to hear nowadays and invited them to share that privilege with him and to convince themselves what a jarring contrast was produced by the harsh noise of the spindles and looms in a modern factory. He was pained to point out that there were 56,00,000 *sadhus* in India who lived entirely on begging. It was their clear duty to tempt these *sadhus* out of their idleness and persuade them to employ themselves in spinning and weaving. There were, besides the *sadhus*, many widows who spent most of their time in temples and idle ritual. He would most earnestly advise these and other ladies of rich families who had no other work to do to take to spinning and weaving and give some hours of their labour to the country.

He added that he did not need to point out to them that *swadeshi* cloth was much more durable than foreign cloth, as that was a matter of everyone's experience.

Mr. Gandhi then said that he had prepared after some consultation and discussion with Mrs. Ramibai Kamdar and others a third vow¹ which allowed those taking it to continue the use of foreign clothes that were in their possession before taking the vow. He had done this in deference to the earnest wishes of some ladies, and he was not sure there were no dangers in that vow. He therefore emphasized that those taking the third vow would keep as their goal the first vow and try to dispose of the foreign clothes in their possession as speedily as they could, by using them for daily use and reserving pure *swadeshi* cloth for important ceremonial occasions.

Mr. Gandhi exhorted the audience to realize the importance of commercial morality.

He laid special emphasis on the fact that so long as speculation was rife in Bombay, it was bound to be a great barrier in the success of *swadeshi*. It was high time that they resolved to keep studiously aloof from it. The Japan magnates laid their title and their treasures at the disposal of their country. The magnates of India could also copy their example and render lasting service to their country. Humanity and honesty should be their watchwords and true patriotism which was the only effective motive force should guide them. *Swadeshi*, he concluded,

¹Vide "Swadeshi Sabha Rules", before 1st July 1919.

was one of the very few subjects on which there was absolutely no difference of opinion and he expected all who were concerned in some way or other with the shaping of the country's destiny to grasp the fact and actively move in the direction of propagating *swadeshi* which only could rid people of their poverty.

[*Young India*, 21st 1919
CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 378]

SPEECH AT SATYAGRAHA SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 24, 1919

Under the auspices of the *Satyagraha Sabha*, a public meeting was held on June 24, 1919, at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall to protest against the Rowlatt Act and Bill and Mr. B. G. Horniman's deportation. Mr. Gandhi presided.

Mr. Gandhi, after apologizing for being late, said there were many reasons of an important kind for meeting there that night. One of them was the Rowlatt Act and Bill and they had to pass a resolution protesting against them. The second was the resolution against the deportation of Mr. Horniman. The meeting was held under the auspices of the *Satyagraha Sabha* and he requested all the speakers to speak in such a manner as would become true *satyagrahis*. At these *satyagraha* meeting, it was desirable that all the speakers should be *satyagrahis*, but they had not definitely decided on that question. He then called upon Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta to move the first resolution.....

Mr. Gandhi put Mr. V. Jerajani's resolution (relating to Mr. Horniman) to vote and asked them to pass it in silence, all standing to show their respect to Mr. Horniman.

He then said if they could hold similar meetings all over India and conduct them in as orderly a manner as they had done that night, the Government would have to cancel their order against Mr. Horniman. Let the people do their duty and the Government would have to do theirs. Let them hold meetings and pass similar resolutions, and their objects would be easily attained.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 25th June 1919.

CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 385]

Bombay, June 25th.—On his return from Poona on the 19th instant, Jamnadas had a long interview with Gandhi, and made one more attempt to induce him to give up his programme of Civil Disobedience. Gandhi flatly refused to accept his advice, and there is no doubt that he is committed to the policy he has sketched out. This is further confirmed by a telegram despatched by Dr. Sathaye to Mr. Lansbury of the *Daily Herald*, London, of which I have received a copy from the Director, Central Intelligence. The telegram runs as follows:—

"Gandhi is restarting Civil Disobedience from July positively, inform Tilak and Horniman."

There was a public meeting on the *swadeshi* question on the 19th at which Jamnadas spoke. Our reports show that great enthusiasm prevailed at this meeting, and that Jamnadas excelled himself by his oratorical effort. Gandhi presided and paid him a tribute and extolled his work for the country. Although he did not agree with his views on *satyagraha*, he wished him all success in his enterprise in England where he is bound to fight the battles of India.

Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on the evening of the 20th (June) accompanied by Anusuyaben, who carried with her a small spinning wheel. Jamnadas and S. G. Banker saw them off. Jamnadas saw Gandhi twice before his departure, and Gandhi gave him advice as to whom he should see in England. Gandhi also gave him letters addressed to Horniman and Mrs. Naidu. Gandhi informed Jamnadas that he still had various meetings to hold in Bombay, and a great deal of work to do before he could start Civil Disobedience. It was therefore possible that he might have to defer the opening of the campaign until the end of the first week in July.

Gandhi returned from Ahmedabad this morning (25th June 1919). He was met by Banker, his secretary and a few *satyagrahis*. They asked him what news he had but he said that he was too tired to speak to them and asked them to leave him. By his general demeanour the impression was created that his visit to Ahmedabad had not been an unqualified success.

It is of course possible that the events of the next few days may tend to rehabilitate Gandhi in the eyes of his quondam followers, but there is no doubt that fewer and fewer people are prepared to endorse his views on *satyagraha* as sound and workmanlike.

Bombay, June 26th.—I* sent for Gandhi yesterday in order to examine him as to the activities of Goverdhandas, the author of the article in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 24th of April against whom the Punjab C.I.D., are taking action. I took the opportunity of having a general talk with him as to his future intentions.

He admitted to me that there had been a large number of resignations from the *Satyagraha Sabha*. He said that he greeted these resignations with joy, because they did not signify the atrophy of *satyagraha* but rather the purification and refinement of the movement. He had come to the conclusion that few, if any of the members of the *sabha* were really true *Satyagrahis* in accordance with his acceptance of the term. Practically all had some superfluous tendencies which he had considered it advisable to divert into a safer channel than that afforded by Civil Disobedience, viz., into the channel of *swadeshism*. He has therefore reconstructed his plan of campaign and he has drafted detailed instructions to guide the Sabha during his absence. He is quite determined to offer Civil Disobedience himself, for he argues, that he is a sufficiently true *satyagrahi* to afford himself the luxury of offering Civil Disobedience. Having obeyed Government in word and deed 999 times, he claims the privilege of having a right to disobey Government once. He promised to send me the rough draft of his instructions and he did so last night. I attach a copy (printed below). These instructions have not yet been issued to *satyagrahis*, but they will be issued as soon as the proofs have been corrected and the instructions reprinted.

Gandhi stated definitely that he had not yet made up his mind as to what form his Civil Disobedience would take. He meant to seek arrest at all costs, but was not yet certain whether he would achieve this object by attempting to enter the Punjab.

The instructions are interesting reading. You will observe that Gandhi has rescinded from his original position, and that the programme he has sketched out is very much milder than we feared it would be. It is so mild, in fact, that I doubt whether it will be popular. It is significant that the centres he has selected are Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad.

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

The Konkan and the Deccan are apparently, beyond the scope of his activities. You will notice that he advocates a series of public meetings to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt Acts, the appointment of Committee to enquire into the causes of the unrest in the Punjab, the administration of Martial Law, the revision of sentences passed by the Tribunals, the release of Kalinath Roy and finally the cancellation of the order of deportation against Horniman.

The instructions laid down in paragraph 16 are calculated to damp the ardour of any lukewarm *satyagraha* !

Gandhi is still very strong on the question of Kalinath Roy and *Young India*, under his direction, has once more devoted practically the whole of its pages to the discussion of his case. A petition signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshaw Watcha, the Honourable G. K. Parekh, Gandhi, Natrajan and others has been forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy praying for mercy to Kalinath Roy on the grounds that the articles themselves are not covered by section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

There is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha* at 6 p.m. today (26th June). The meeting has been advertised as " the last meeting under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi."

There was a meeting of the Executive Committee of *Swadeshi Sabha* yesterday (25th June) at which it was decided to open another store. It was also decided to give a number of *rentias* (Indian made spinning wheels) to Hindu women with a request that they should take them home and spin thread in their spare hours in the interest of *swadeshism*. Twenty-five such *rentias* have already been given away.

Instructions for *satyagrahis* in terms and in virtue of the resolution passed by the Committee of *Sabha* on June 19th—

(1)As it is or should be the belief of *satyagrahis* that those are the best fitted for offering civil disobedience who are the most free from anger, untruth and ill-will or hatred and as I consider myself to be from this point of view the best fitted amongst the *satyagrahis* I have decided that I should be the first to offer civil disobedience.

(2)The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience about the beginning of July is by disobeying the orders against me of internment and externment.

(3)I firmly believe that our victory lies in the nation preserving perfect peace and equanimity at the time of, after and during my incarceration. Such preservation will be the best way of bringing about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

(4)I therefore advise that upon my incarceration there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever, no *hartal* and no mass meetings.

(5)I advise that Civil Disobedience by the other *satyagrahis* be not resumed at least for one month after the day of my incarceration as distinguished from my arrest or some such final act on the part of Government.

(6)This month should be treated as one of discipline and preparation for Civil Disobedience and assuming that no disturbances take place after my incarceration it should be devoted to the following constructive programme: —

(a) The preaching of the cardinal principles of the doctrine of *satya-graha*, namely, the necessity of strict adherence to Truth and *Ahimsa* and

the duty of Civil Disobedience its natural corollary and the equally paramount duty of refraining from criminal disobedience, and with this end in view literature such as Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Defence of Socrates* by me, Tolstoy's *Letter to Russian Liberals* and Ruskin's *Unto This Last* should be widely distributed. It is true that we sold some of this literature as part of the plan of actual civil disobedience. But now we have the knowledge that the Government have been advised that reprints and sale of prohibited literature is not an offence except in so far as such or any literature may be covered by section 124-A. We would therefore now sell this literature as part of our propaganda but not as an act rendering us liable to penalty for breach of any law.

(b) Propaganda of *swadeshi* should be taken upon an intensive and extensive scale. It should be free cover as far as possible the whole of India. Propaganda should be free from all bitterness and from even a suspicion of boycott, *swadeshi* being regarded as an economic political and even religious necessity for all time. And this propaganda should include in an equal degree both the presentation of the different pledges to the public for acceptance and activity for the new production of cotton cloth principally by the encouragement of hand spinning and weaving even though it may be for the time being at a loss.

(c) The advocating of the Hindu-Muslim unity not by means of public speeches but by concrete acts of help and kindness on the part of Hindus towards Mahommadans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would therefore naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mahommadans in their just claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mahommadan Sovereign State with full regard for their feelings as to the Holy places and the Khilafat.

(d) Meetings should be held to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation, the appointment of an independent impartial committee of enquiry with the power to enquire into the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of Martial Law and to revise the sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Tribunals, the release of Babu Kalinath Roy without the necessity of an enquiry, and cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman.

(7). If full peace is observed for one month as per paragraph 3 and it has been ascertained that the people have understood the doctrine of *satyagraha*, time will have arrived for offering further civil disobedience assuming of course that the Rowlatt legislation has not been repealed.

(8) Civil disobedience may then be offered by those who may be selected by the leaders appointed in paragraph 14. I however advise that not more than two at a time should offer civil disobedience from any one centre nor should civil disobedience be commenced simultaneously at all the centres. But the effect of resumption of civil disobedience in one or more centres of the public mind should be watched before resuming it in the other centres.

(9) The recommending of the laws for civil disobedience is a most difficult task. In the present state of the country when it is highly debatable whether the spirit of civil disobedience replacing an entirely superseding criminal disobedience has been understood by the masses, I am unable to advise civil disobedience of the Revenue Laws, i.e., that salt tax, the land tax and the forest laws.

(10) The income-tax is a feasible proposition on the ground of safety from any violent disturbance, but I am more than doubtful as to any res-

ponse being made by those who pay the income-tax. There remain there-tore the political laws and only the Press Act lends itself to civil disobedience but there also the only possible presses. But I am not confident as to the efficacy of establishing unlicensed presses for the purpose of inviting imprisonment.

(11) I can therefore only advise that individual *satyagrahis* when they receive orders of internment or orders prohibiting them from speaking or publishing any matter which the Government may consider to be obnoxious but which from the *satyagraha* standpoint may be flawless such orders should be disregarded.

(12) It may be that the Government may not view with indifference the propaganda of the doctrine of reprint of prohibiting literature although such literature from the moral, i.e., *satyagraha* standpoint are perfectly innocent. In that event civil disobedience is offered in the easiest and most dignified way. It is open however to the leaders to add to the ways above mentioned by thinking out other laws which may have escaped my notice.

But it will be no fault in them to confine themselves to the limits mentioned in paragraph 3 but it would be considered a grave indiscretion on their part if they select laws which do not hold proper matter for civil disobedience or a civil breach of which is likely to lead to a criminal breach.

(13) In the event of a prosecution for civil disobedience a *satyagrahi* if he has committed he should plead guilty, offer no defence and invite the severest penalty. If he is falsely charged with civil disobedience he should make that statement but not enter upon any further defence and accept the penalty he receives. If a *satyagrahi* is prosecuted for criminal breach as for instance for actually uttered sedition or incited to sedition he should make a statement denying the guilt and producing his witnesses. It is open to him also to engage a lawyer if he wishes to but it is no part of the duty of the *sabha* or of *co-satyagrmhis* to find funds for engaging lawyers, as the essence of *Satyagraha* lies inviting penalty for deliberate civil disobedience and in accepting penalty where one is falsely charged with criminal disobedience because a *satyagrahi* is indifferent to the pain of imprisonment. He glories in it when it is self-invited and resigns to it when a false and malicious charge has been brought against him. That he may not by making effort to get the best lawyer possible be found guilty not only by the court but be considered such by the public should not concern a *satyagrahi*. The voice of a clear disciplined conscience is the final arbiter for him.

(14) I have come to the conclusion that it is better to divide the Bombay Presidency into so many independent self-sustained centres, each seeking co-operation with and advice from the rest but none being under the orders of any, and I select Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as such centres. I make no selection in the other Presidencies for the *Bombay Sabhds* jurisdiction is limited only to that Presidency and the resolutions giving me extensive powers can refer only to this Presidency.

(15) I therefore propose to give separate brief instructions using this as a basis to be adopted by the centres outside the Presidency. The centres appointed under this paragraph will be responsible. For Bombay I appoint Mrs. Naidu if she has returned in time, Umar Sobani, Shankarlal G. Banker and I. K. Yajnik if he can be spared from Ahmedabad successively as leaders. In Surat Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta. In Broach Haribhai Javerbhai Amin. In Nadiad Foolchand Bapouji Shah

and Mohanlal R. Pandya. In Ahmedabad Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Balwantrao Narasingh Prasad Kanuga, Indulal Kanaivalal Yajnik all successively leaders as in Bombay. I advise the leaders to form small committees and for their guidance and others consult the feelings of *satyagrahis*.

(16) All along I have assumed that there will be no disturbance. if however the worst happens and there is a disturbance every *satyagrahi* living in the disturbed centre will be expected to loose his life in preventing loss of other lives whether English or Indian. He will, at the same peril, prevent destruction of property and if he thought there was shooting of innocent men he will offer himself also to be shot.

(17) Wherever there are individual *satyagrahis* whether within the Presidency or outside who either for want of ability, confidence in themselves or otherwise are unable to remain in their respective places, it is open to them to go preferably to Bombay or to some other active centre and work under the direction of the leader acting for the time being.

(18) The above instructions are for general guidance but in emergencies every leader is free to depart from them at his own risk. Read paragraph 11 in this connection.

(19) *Satyagraha* in action is in some respects like physical warfare. The love of discipline for instance are most common to a *satyagrahi* (Spiritual) warfare and the physical warfare. Therefore a *satyagrahi* is expected to render implicit obedience to the instructions of the leader and is not to reason why. He must obey instructions first and then question the leader as the propriety of a particular action but unlike as in physical warfare does retain his final independence in vital matters and then on such occasions as a true *satyagrahi* yielding to the leader the same right of independent judgement will without irritation place his resignation in his hands, But it should be remembered in the vast majority of cases differences arise not on vital matters but on trifles. A *satyagrahi* therefore, will not mistake the voice of conscience and dignify trifles into things of the essence and then precipitate differences. My experience is that it is only he who has obeyed in nine hundred and ninety-nine things finds the thousand perhaps to be a legitimate matter for difference. With him everyone else is first himself last.

Page 579, Para 901.

(a) *Bombay, June 28th.*—Gandhi is proceeding to Ahmedabad to-day and proposes to return on the 1st. It is said that he intends to proceed to the Punjab on the 2nd *proximo*, but of course we have no means of verifying this and I cannot say how far it is correct.

Gandhi was asked by a *satyagrahi* on the morning of the 27th whether those who had signed on for duty in the Punjab would be required. He replied that he would not require their services at all in any capacity as he would be the first to go if it was decided that any one should go to the Punjab. He said that Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and C. F. Andrews had been to Amritsar and Lahore and if he received satisfactory reports from them it might not be necessary for him to go to the Punjab. He further said that if the case of Kalinath Roy was satisfactorily disposed by his release, he would then think of taking up cudgels on behalf of the Ali Brothers, for he had information that they had been interned on the strength of forged letters which had been produced against them by the C.I.D.

Bombay July 2nd. Gandhi returned, from Ahmedabad at mid-day on the 1st instant. Mr. Robertson was on the same train. Mr. Robertson and

I* interviewed Gandhi at my office at 4 O'clock the same afternoon. Mr. Robertson warned him on the lines of the Government of India telegram. Gandhi admitted that points (1) and (2) as included in this telegram were correct. He explained the position in the following terms. He had made a very close study for the past two months of the position of affairs with special reference to (1) the Afghan War, (2) the feelings of the people and (3) the attitude of the authorities. He had been in particularly close touch with the Mohommadans. While he admitted that he was not in close touch with the Mahommadan masses, he was in close touch with a number of Moulvies and he had also visited a large number of better class Mohommadans, including Mahommadan women (who by the way, he says, do not observe *purdah* in his presence) and he was quite convinced by what he had seen and heard that they were perfectly quiet. They had given him definite promises that the Mahommadans would not create any disorder should he be arrested. He had made it a point to impress upon Mahommadans that it was their duty if they followed his teaching to do nothing to embarrass the authorities, particularly in view of the Afghan War. He was quite convinced that the vast bulk of Mahommadans in India had no sympathy with the Afghans and that on that ground alone they would take elaborate care to do nothing that was calculated to prolong hostilities. Moulvi Abdul Bari, a close personal friend with whom he was in intimate touch, bore him out in this conclusion. Further, after innumerable conversations with Hindus and Mahommadans of all classes he felt assured that his arrest would cause no trouble because the people now realised that the authorities were prepared to meet any disturbance that might arise and moreover that they would be swift to act. He was quite convinced that there would have been no disturbance in April had it not been for the fact that the Mahommadans were behind the Hindus. He put this down to the Mahommadans' fear that the Rowlatt Act had been framed with the express intention of suppressing the expression of their opinions with regard to the Khilafat question. Had it not been for this fact the Mahommadans would not have instigated the Hindus to violence. He was thoroughly satisfied that had it not been for the incitement of Mahommadans, the Hindus would have shown no violence.

When Mr. Robertson informed him that there was evidence that racial animosities still existed in Ahmedabad and quoted two or three concrete instances in support of this contention. Gandhi expressed the greatest surprise and was anxious for details. He would be ready to forego Civil Disobedience if he felt that this state of affairs was at all general in Gujarat, or at any rate to postpone Civil Disobedience until he had conducted a propaganda in Ahmedabad to eradicate the feelings of hostility. He was more nervous about Gujarat than he was about any other part of India. He felt that the people there still retained full confidence in him. The danger was most marked in Kaira District and he had therefore been constantly impressing upon them that violence and hatred were entirely foreign to his propaganda. He had taken the people of Kaira very severely to task for the part they had played in the recent disturbances. Indulai Yajnik was his right-hand man at Ahmedabad and was the truest *satyagrahi* there. As regards the millhands in Ahmedabad, Anusuyaben had settled down in the City and as long as she was there he had no fear of any disturbance, for the millhands regarded her as their mother. She was a brave woman with very great influence and her association with the millhands was a sufficient guarantee that they would abstain from violence no matter

*Bombay Commissioner of Police,

what might happen to him. Anusuyaben was his hostage in Ahmedabad. On his pointing out to her that the defence of accused persons was contrary to the tenets of *satyagraha* Anusuyaben had abandoned her plan of engaging counsel from Bombay to defend the accused in the Ahmedabad cases. She was now engaged in diverting the energies of the millhands into the channel of *swadeshism* in view of the probability of his arrest and disappearance. He admitted that large numbers of millhands out of work were difficult to control and he would be very nervous were it not for the presence and co-operation of Anusuyaben. She had promised to perish at her post should there be trouble. In addition to Anusuyaben, he had infinite faith in the influence of Indulal Yajnik and Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Kanuga and also the inmates of his own *Ashram*. Mr. Robertson reminded him that these gentlemen had not shown up very brilliantly in the recent disturbances and that Dr. Kanuga had been too petrified with fright even to attend casualties lying at his very door. Gandhi agreed that they had cut a sorry figure but said that two months' intensive training had worked wonders in them, that they had found themselves and were so transformed that he felt he could safely rely on their staunchness in the event of future disturbances. He was inclined to encourage the diversion of the energies of the bulk of *satyagrahis* to *swadeshism* because he felt that *Satyagraha* in the case of the majority of them was a matter of expediency rather than conviction. With regard to Madras he had recently heard from Rajagopalcharya that there was no danger whatever of any violence ensuing in his Presidency should Gandhi be arrested. His information from the United Provinces was the same and, as regards Bengal he was certain that nothing would happen because the Bengalis regarded him as a fool. As regards the Punjab, numbers of Punjabis had come to him and apologised for the violence that had taken place in that province and, apart altogether from their sorrow at having acted in opposition to his expressed wishes, he was satisfied that the Punjab was still in such a state of panic that they would in no circumstances resort to violence. In spite of this conviction he had taken full precautions with regard to the Punjab and had seen hundreds of Punjabis in this connection. Nor was there any fear that there would be trouble on his account in Delhi.

As regards point (2) of the telegram Gandhi explained his point of view as follows:

When the disturbances broke out in April, Government like himself, were quite unprepared. Government were now fully alive and very wide awake and he could see no reason why a man should not take advantage of such a condition of affairs. His mission in life was to correct the mental attitude of the people. If evil doers were not inclined to follow his preachings, then he felt that it was quite justifiable to rely upon the measures taken by Government to keep those evil doers in check. He could see nothing wrong in his attitude in this respect. No Government could govern by force alone. A good Government was a happy blend of force and sympathy. He considered that there was a strong strain of sympathy in the British character than in the characters of any other National, and throughout his teaching he had made it a point to emphasise this fact and to make it clear that on this ground alone he was a staunch supporter of the British connection and that the person who did not see eye to eye with him in this respect could have nothing in common with him. By his propaganda he hoped to quicken the sympathy of Government. It was his intention to force Government to yield to public opinion. He had agreed to suspend his programme for one week-out of his strong regard for Lord Chelmsford. I asked him whether he

had considered the possibility of the mental equilibrium of the Mahom-madans being upset by the peace terms offered to Turkey and whether he did not think it advisable on that account to avoid the risk of Complicating the situation by going to Jail and depriving the Mahommadans of his restraining influence. He replied that he did not think it likely that there would be any danger of trouble on his account if the first week after his arrest passed without incident and he therefore, argued that it was unlikely that his incarceration would have any effect one way or the other upon the attitude of the Mahommadans with regard to the peace terms. He understood that the peace terms would not be published for another two months, by which time possibly he might be a free man again. If the terms offered to Turkey were so drastic that they made the Mahommadans disloyal to the British, he would certainly make common cause with the Mahommadans with the double object of restraining them from violence and of assisting them to combat the terms.

Gandhi defined Civil Disobedience as disobedience against a law which there was no moral obligation to obey, provided always that the penalty for disobedience should fall in full upon the delinquent who openly invites and seeks it and by his action does not harm his opponent.

Gandhi realised that the removal of his personal influence would give his political opponents a chance of counteracting or distorting his teaching, but he did not consider that that was a sufficient ground for foregoing his programme of Civil Disobedience. Referring to the Deccan, Gandhi stated that he was very anxious to convert the Deccanis to his views. The foundation of their political thought and action was anti-British that was Tilak's creed. Tilak was the apostle of the "tit-for-tat" cult, and declared that the salvation of India lay in retaliation. He himself was very, strongly opposed to this cult. He considered that ill-will and hostility were fatal to progress and he hoped to insinuate himself slowly but surely in the Deccan and to gain influence with the Deccanis who in his opinion were very valuable material since they were staunch and men of their word. He had a few ardent followers in the Deccan, prominent amongst whom was one Sumant who was doing excellent spade-work in Pandharpur. Gandhi admitted that there was a great deal of irresponsible talk about his contemplated campaign of Civil Disobedience. He himself expected to emerge stronger both morally and physically from his residence in jail. He did not anticipate a long period of incarceration.

In conclusion, Gandhi made a statement which was reduced to writing, of which I attach a copy (printed below). His plans for the future are detailed in that statement. He emphasised the fact that he had not the slightest desire to cause Government more embarrassment than was inseparable from the performance of the duty imposed upon him by his conscience. He promised to give me ample notice of his intended movements and expressed his intention also of warning His Excellency himself before opening his campaign. It will be observed that he went so far as to state that he was prepared to consult the convenience of the authorities as to the details of his arrest, stating that he would choose the route most convenient to the authorities. As at present advised, he thought it undesirable to go to the Punjab. To do so might cause unnecessary excitement in the province which was slowly setting down and he could equally well achieve his object by disobeying his order of internment and leaving the confines of the Bombay Presidency either *en route* to Madras or to Mount Abu, as might be most convenient to Government.

Bombay, 1st July 1919.

I have received through Mr. Robertson the message kindly sent by the Government of India with reference to my plans. I wish to state that whenever I actually resume Civil Disobedience I shall give due notice to the local authority. Civil Disobedience will be restricted only to myself and my co-workers will not take it up for at least one month after my incarceration except at their own risk. As I have written to His Excellency the Viceroy a letter to which I expect a reply and as I have sent a cable to Mr. Montagu, in order to wait for reply to these two communications. I do not propose to offer Civil Disobedience up to Tuesday next. The manner in which I propose to offer Civil Disobedience is by crossing the border of this Presidency at some point. So far as I can think at present it is not my desire to cross the border by attempting to go to the Punjab as I feel that I would be unnecessarily disturbing the process of peace going on there at present and doing an act which might irritate the local Government. If the Government of India or the local Government would wish me to cross the border of the Presidency at any particular point I would gladly do so. My movements up to Tuesday are as follows:

I intend to take the Gujarat Mail on Saturday evening reach Nadiad on Sunday morning staying in the Kaira District practically the whole of Sunday, during that time if necessary pay a visit to Kathlal for the sake of delivering an address at Kathlal on *swadeshi*. In that event I would take the evening train from Nadiad to Ahmedabad on Sunday and stay in Ahmedabad during the whole of Monday taking the return Gujarat Mail from Ahmedabad to Bombay which accordingly I reach on Tuesday morning at 8 O'clock. The day in Ahmedabad I propose to pass by talking to my friends about the manner of preserving peace after my Civil Disobedience and I propose to address the same day a meeting of women in Ahmedabad on *swadeshi*.

I would like respectfully to state that if the Government desire that I should suspend the resumption of Civil Disobedience for any definite time not too distant. I would consider it my duty to respect their wish as I am most anxious that no action on my part should in any shape or form cause embarrassment to Government save what embarrassment is inevitable by reason of Civil Disobedience on the ground of the refusal of Government to listen to the appeal for withdrawal of the Rowlatt Legislation. I have heard on what is in my opinion good authority that it is the intention of the Government of India as also the Secretary of State for India to revise their opinion on the Rowlatt Legislation and at a suitable time not very far distant they propose to withdraw the Rowlatt Act and that they have abandoned the intention of proceeding with the sister bill. If my information is correct and if the Government will so far as they can at present give the assurance, not for publication, that such is their intention, I would indefinitely postpone Civil Disobedience.

(Signed).....
M. K. GANDHI.

Page 602, Para 939 (a, b and c).

(b) *Bombay, July 7th.*—A public meeting under the auspices of the Cutchi Jain Association was held at 8 a.m. on the 28th June under the presidentship of a Jain Sadhu named Kamalsurishwar Maharaj. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture on *Swadeshi Vrat* in Gujarati.

The audience of about 500 persons included Jains and others, but none of the leading Jains of Bombay attended. The meeting lasted for about 1½ hours.

Gandhi dwelt on the importance of *swadeshi* from the industrial, political and religious points of view and emphasised the view that the *swadeshi vrat* would lead to the uplifting of India whose people in thousands lived in a state of misery. He exhorted the audience to take the *swadeshi* Vow and requested the Jain Sadhus to make efforts to encourage the people to do so.

The President referred to the present state of the Jains and suggested that every one should act in accordance with the views of Gandhi in regard to the *swadeshi vrat*.

Pandit Lalan thanked the President and the lecturer and supporting the views of Gandhi he asked the people to follow them in earnest.

SPEECH ON SWADESHI. BOMBAY.

June 28. 1919

The idea of *swadeshi* is of great importance and the progress of the country in *dharma* is bound up with it. A country which has forsaken *swadeshi* can be said to have no patriotic sentiment and will never be able to follow its *dharma*. We do not find this said in our *shastras*; on the contrary, it is even deduced from them that patriotism may be an obstacle on the path of *dharma*. This is an utterly absurd and misleading idea. Everyone ought to be mindful of his duty and failure to do so is to reduce the path of *karma* to sheer confusion. In Jainism, the secret of this path is explained with much greater insight than in any other faith. The friends who have assembled here do not need to be told what it is. If a man is born in India, there must be some reason behind the fact; that being so we need to consider what is our especial duty. That duty is *swadeshi* and is included in *dharma*. Jainism teaches compassion towards living creatures and the duty of non-violence; it even teaches the protection of violent animals against small creatures. This, however, is no justification for our neglecting the duty of compassion of non-violence towards human beings. If our neighbours are in pain or misfortune, it is our duty to share their suffering and help them. All over the world, the religious life has lost importance to such an extent that irreligion, is spreading in the name of religion and men every where are deceiving themselves. We claim to be men of *dharma*, whereas all our actions are tainted with *adharma*. We cannot claim to have followed *dharma*, by earning money through *adharma*. and giving it in charity for promoting pious causes. Most of the people assembled here are traders by profession. We are told that trade cannot be carried on without some admixture of dishonesty. I shall be plain and tell you that, if that is so, you had better give up trade. One's *dharma* lies in refusing to forsake truth even if that means starving and unless we live in this manner, *dharma* will not be the central purpose of our lives.

There is a painful thing I am obliged to mention, and it is that our religious leaders, whose duty it is to enlighten people, have forgotten that duty. This is true, however much it may hurt us. Religious leaders have it in them to set an example to their followers by their conduct. Mere preaching will have no effect on those who assemble to listen to their discourses. Religious leaders, too should follow the rule of *swadeshi*. They have plenty of time on hand. They should take to the spinning-wheel and spin and thus set an example to their followers. More than in the repetition of Rama as if they tell the beads, in the music of the spinning-wheel will they hear the voice of the *atman* with a beauty all its own.

¹The meeting was held in Jain Upashraya at Lalbaug under the auspices of the Cutchchi Jain Mandal.

Swadeshi is our primary obligation because (it is) natural to us. We have forsaken this natural obligation. Because of its neglect of *swadeshi* the nation has been ruined. Three crores in India, that is a tenth of the total population of the country, get only one meal a day, just plain bread and no more. Crores of rupees are annually lost to foreign countries. If this wealth of crores could remain in the country, we would be able to save our starving countrymen. Thus, our economic well-being is also bound up with *swadeshi*, and in its observance there lies compassion for living beings. Moreover, *swadeshi* cloth is likely to be cheaper than English cloth. I submit to you that you should make your own cloth or get it made. The vow of *swadeshi* is not a difficult one to keep. Through it, we shall remove the hardships of our countrymen. If we work at the spinning-wheel for eight hours, we can spin one pound of yarn. The cloth being produced in India today can meet the needs of only 25 per cent of the population; we should therefore produce enough to meet the needs of the remaining 75 per cent. If, thus, people take to turning the spinning-wheel not only we shall succeed in keeping the vow of *swadeshi* but shall also ensure production of cloth in plenty.

[Gujarati, 6th July 1919.
CWMG, Vol. XV, P. 399]

Pages 635-36, Para 970 (a).

(a) *Bombay July 14.*—Gandhi returned from Poona yesterday morning (13th July). He spent most of the day in the Narayan Mandir on Kalbadevi Road, trying to popularise the use of the *swadeshi* spinning wheels in order to foster his *swadeshi* movement. He attended two meetings, both at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall. One was on the subject of "Our Duty", held under the auspices of the Mangrol Jain Sabha. The other was a meeting to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

A number of persons saw Gandhi at his residence this morning. He informed them that His Excellency the Governor had treated him very kindly, and that at His Excellency's suggestion he had agreed to postpone his campaign of Civil Disobedience for a short time. He stated that His Excellency had told him that the best opinion in the country was against *satyagraha*, and that he should respect that opinion. He understood from His Excellency that the Government of India were considering the situation in the Punjab and, although he did not say so in so many words, he understood His Excellency to hint that there was some hope that the question of withdrawing the Rowlatt Act was under the consideration of the Government of India. He expected very shortly to receive a reply to his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy who was now in Poona, after which he would call a meeting of the *satyagrahis* and inform them what he had decided to do.

There is a leading article in today's *Praia Mitra* and Parsi congratulating His Excellency the Governor on his tact and Gandhi on his decision to postpone the *satyagraha* movement. Gandhi stated that the paper had been very hasty in writing as it had done, because he had only agreed to postpone the movement for a short time and if, during that time, the Rowlatt Act was not abolished he certainly would start his campaign.

He expressed himself as being pleased at the keenness shown by the people of Poona over the *swadeshi* movement, but he was sorry that they still leaned towards the inclusion of boycott. One Jivandas Bagabhai Ruparel,

a tile merchant of Null Bazaar, has set aside a sum of one lakh of rupees which is to be used to assist any manufacturers capable of preparing Indian-made articles who are not in a position to do so for want of capital.

Pages 638-40, Para 971(g).

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 17th.—The following is a cutting from *Young India*, dated the 16th July 1919:—

Mr. Gandhi, who had to go to Poona to see His Excellency the Governor on Saturday the 12th instant, addressed there two meetings in the evening on the subject of *Swadeshi*, one to the students of the Fergusson College in the amphitheatre of the College, and another to the citizens of Poona in the Gaekwar's Wada. A brief report of the two meetings is given below;

Fergusson College Meeting.

In addressing the students in Hindi Mr. Gandhi said the question of *swadeshi* include the question of the language, and he would prefer to address them in their *Lingua Franca*, Hindi, rather than in English; but it was about *swadeshi* in respect to clothing that he was there to speak to them.

Dr. Harold Mann had surveyed the conditions in a Deccan village near Poona and he had observed that a large part of the population was without work for a large part of the year and had to depend on daily labour e.g. carrying milk to Poona, working in the Ammunition Factory, etc., and that for the most part it was the males only who found work in this direction. How, asked Mr. Gandhi, did the women employ themselves? They had no work, or they employed themselves with unprofitable work. That was the condition all over India. Sir Dinshaw Wacha had calculated that during the period of the war we had much less cloth for our consumption than we had in the five years preceding the war. Shall we wait for more mills to supply the shortage of cloth from which we were suffering, asked Mr. Gandhi. It would take years before the mills could come effectively to our rescue. *Swadeshi* alone could effectively and without loss of time supplement our supply of cloth. Sir William Hunter had calculated that one-tenth of our population scarcely got one meal per day. The speaker's own experience of the peasant in Champaran proved the truth of the calculation. He could say that most of the peasants in Champaran had to rest satisfied with scanty meals. He said Mrs. Gandhi herself went about in the villages of the Champaran District and she revealed to him the painful fact that many of the women had not sufficient clothing to cover themselves with, and some of them had not had their baths for days together for want of clothing to change for the dirty scanty clothing on their bodies. which they could ill afford to wash. Thousands of peasants burnt away their precious manure in winter to warm themselves with, only because they had nothing wherewith to buy warm clothing. And what was at the root of all this misery? One hundred and fifty years ago they produced their own cotton and spun it and wove out of it their own cloth to-day they had to depend on foreign markets. It would be tormenting to him to relate. and to them to hear, painful process of the extinction of their handicrafts in the future, to study the conditions of the agriculturists to think of how their lot can be improved and to set to them the example of their own lives. They themselves could learn spinning and weaving in a short time and go from village to village preaching to the peasants the need of *swadeshi* and explaining to them how they could fight starvation and famine by filling their time with spinning yam and weaving cloth out of it It was a serious state of affairs for any country if its peasant population

had to remain without work for six months in the year. He explained to them the three vows that he had placed before the public, but told them that the purest *Swadeshi* consists in using cloth woven on handloom out of hand-spun yarn. The question of machine-made cloth apart, Mr. Gandhi said it was undoubted that the clothing he wore was more artistic than what the students wore. Art, he explained, lies in producing something which could not be exactly limited, which had on it the stamp of some ideal, which in short had the soul of the artist in it. Machine-made cloth had no soul in it. As to the greater durability of hand-woven cloth there was scarcely any doubt. But if the audience did not share his views on art, they had the Indian mill-made cloth to fall back upon when the peasants could manufacture their own yarn and cloth in their cottages.

From the point of view, then, of rejuvenation of our lost art, of service of the Motherland and of the protection of our peasant population. *swadeshi* was a thing without which none of them could do. For some time to come they would have to rest satisfied with cloth of coarse texture, but it was little sacrifice on their part considering the mighty issues involved.

The speaker emphasised that he did not hold out the hand-loom as a competitor of the power-loom. The objective was not that the former should *supplant the latter*. It was rather that the former should supplement the latter. What he meant to say, however, was that any amount of progress in our mill-industry could not improve the condition of our agriculturists. Only a revival of cottage industries, viz., hand-spinning and hand-weaving could work their economic salvation. He hoped they would discuss the whole question with their professors, and that both they and the professors would see their way to support *swadeshi* in religious spirit.

Principal Paranjpe in rising to thank Mr. Gandhi said that as Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi, he could not follow him fully. He could only get the gist of his remarks. But he could guess the rest. He then mentioned some of the grounds on which, he said he was opposed to the idea of what he thought to be a crusade of an unpractical nature. One hundred years ago, he said we may have produced our own cloth; similarly we traversed large distances by means of primitive bullockcarts and our caravans brought in and took out commodities to and from our country, in that primitive fashion. The railways had now come and ruined the profession of those carters. Did Mr. Gandhi wish that the Railways should be destroyed and the primitive means of trade and communication be restored instead? It is vain, he maintained, to strive to turn back the tide of time, and to seek solution of an economic question in a sentimental way. Similarly it would be absurd to say that the printing-presses which had supplanted the copyists of the olden time should go, and allow the copyists to minister again to our needs of writing. The saddest part of the affair was, Mr. Paranjpe admitted, that the ryot was starved and scantily clad, but that was because, he thought, we did not take to mill industry early enough. The third thing that he wished to say was that if the educated took the *swadeshi* vow. they would only help in taking away the supply of coarse cloth which the poorer classes were using today. We would thus, said Mr. Paranjpe, endanger rather than alleviate the lot of the poor. It was unsafe, he concluded, to proceed on argument by appeal to the sentiments and to base a crusade of gigantic magnitude on it. The question deserved to be solved by considerable discussion with economists who might be able to suggest proper economic regulations. He had not made up his mind in the matter, but Mr. Gandhi had left him unconvinced.

[*Note.*—It is evident that the learned and popular Principal of the Pergusson College, as he himself admitted, could not, follow Mr. Gandhi in detail. He evidently thought that Mr. Gandhi was endeavouring to bring his known views on machinery into the *swadeshi* propaganda. The fact is that he has deliberately refrained from doing so. All the three vows prepared by him recognised the use of mill-made goods. He said in his address that the city people could use the mill-made cloth only if the peasant population produced and used hand-made coarse cloth. The illustration of the carters and the copyists has really no bearing on the question. These two classes have found other occupation; whereas the peasantry especially the women-folk of the villages remain largely idle for want of work at home. Mr. Gandhi has suggested hand-spinning and hand-weaving for the millions who have to pass nearly half the year in enforced idleness. Referring to Sir Dinsha Wacha's letter to the *Times of India* on the shortage of cloth and his prognostication that 'no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additional spindles and looms' the *Modern Review* remarks: " Cannot handlooms and the indigenous spinning wheels render more help than they do? We think they can " (Editor. Y. !!.)]

Public Meeting of the Poona Citizens.

Mr. Gandhi, who was introduced to the audience by Mr. Khadilkar, said, speaking in Hindi, that at the outset he wanted to discuss *swadeshi* not from a political standpoint, but from an economic and religious one. *swadeshi*, as he understood it, was broad-based on certain religious and economic principles according to which all men from the Viceroy to his peons downwards may accept it. It recognised no distinction as of the Moderates or the Extremists among its votaries, and it was such that it was possible to bring men of all races, castes and creeds under its influence. There was thus no place in it for boycott, which was the predominant element in or which practically meant, the *swadeshi*, of a few years ago. He therefore wished to request them with all the force that he could command to keep the thought of boycott away from their minds while thinking of *swadeshi*.

He recalled a day when just after his return from South Africa he visited Poona and there said at a meeting that what Poona thought one day the rest of India would think on the next. He said he was still of the same opinion. He believed that no city in India could compare with Poona in its learning and its self-sacrifice, and he had no doubt that if Poona saw eye to eye with him in the matter of *swadeshi* it would relieve him from half of his task. What in his opinion, Poona lacked was faith and self-confidence. Poona still believed, he thought, that there is no salvation without our being westernized. It is only when Poona disabused itself of this belief that it could truly help in raising the country from its despondency.

Proceeding to explain *swadeshi* Mr. Gandhi drew a homely analogy. Supposing, he said, a man has ample provisions and a wife to prepare out of them dainty dishes for him, and if in spite of it he sends for his dishes from an outside hotel, how shall we describe him? We should, he said, regard him as one out of his senses. Similarly a nation, which acted in the way this man did, could not but be characterised as one out of its senses, and India was an instance in point. A hundred and fifty years ago she produced

her own cloth, and produced fabrics of cotton and silk woven into a texture the fineness of which no cloth produced anywhere else in the world could compete with. And to-day she depended on foreign countries for a large part of her cloth. Last year for instance India paid 60 crores of rupees for the cloth imported from abroad. This dependence was at once an act of folly and of sin. If having given up our old profession of producing our own cloth, we had busied ourselves with something more profitable, Mr. Gandhi said he would have no quarrel. But the fact is that they had not done so. The peasant population, i.e., two hundred and forty million of our whole population spent six months in the year idly. He had lived among the agriculturists of Kaira and Champaran and he knew that they remained without work for half the part of the year. The condition of these people which for them meant the earning of their living and manufacture of their cloth by hand spinning and hand weaving. And here he instanced the case of Vijapur, a village near Ahmadabad, where owing to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Gangabai Mazumdar, a widow of fine patriotism and selflessness, four hundred Musalman women who had before nothing to do and who on account of the *purdah* could not go out to work, added to their income by spinning cotton in their own home. It was Gangabai who brought employment to those unemployed and her example deserved to be copied everywhere. And argued Mr. Gandhi, they should think themselves of England and Germany, how they tackled their food problem during the war, how they turned fallow land into arable and grew potatoes on it in six months' time. Spinning and weaving our own cloth was surely a less difficult task than growing potatoes. That however, was the economic aspect of the question. He had still to put before them the question from a religious standpoint. He had defined *swadeshi* as restricting oneself to the use and service of one's immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. He thought it was scarcely human for people to prefer remote surroundings to those nearest themselves, and humanity, said the great Tulsidas, was the basis of all religion. He felt that the first and elementary duty of man was to use and serve his neighbours and that if he went farther for his needs and service it argued on his part more regard for self than for others. "We have wasted a considerable part of our precious spare time," said Mr. Gandhi, "and it behoves us now to bestir ourselves to utilise it and to dedicate our labour to the land of our birth." Mr. Gandhi then explained to them the three *swadeshi* vows. He wished they could share his view that there was more art in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth than cloth manufactured in factories. Even supposing that there could be one day in India mills enough to supply all the cloth they needed, there was nothing wherewith the women of the country could employ their spare time better, or wherewith those who had no means of honourable living could get a mean more honourable than spinning and weaving. The chief part of *swadeshi* activity was production of as much cloth as possible, and the need of it could not be overestimated. Perseverance, patriotism and self-sacrifice were the essentials of success in their programme and Mr. Gandhi hoped that Poona would respond enthusiastically to his call and justify its proud traditions.

Page 665, Para 1003-(d).

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 21st.—At a meeting in Bombay on the 28th June Gandhi presided while G. B. Deshpande lectured on swadeshi.

OBSERVATION ON SWADESHI AT MEETING IN BOMBAY¹

June 28. 1919

We should take the first vow, that of pure *swadeshi* and always follow the rule of *swadeshi*. Any person placing himself under a vow should take all possible steps to ensure that he is able to keep it, otherwise there is every danger of its having to be violated at some future time. He should, therefore, use foresight and take all necessary steps for being able to keep it. We should make an effort to promote the production of hand-woven cloth and handspun yarn so that we may succeed in keeping our vow. Today I went to a women's meeting at half past four and, following my request to them, it is likely that most of them will start working at the spinning-wheel. If both women and men join this movement for *swadeshi*, it will be a great success and we shall be able to follow the rule of *Swadeshi* with ease. This movement has nothing to do with boycott. I have placed this rule before the people because I think it to be our duty and a part of our *dharma*. I request my countrymen not to mixup the movement for *Swadeshi* with boycott.

[*Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan*, 6th July 1919.

CWMG, Vol. XV, p. 401]

(b) Page 701, Para 1063.

Bombay, August 4th.—(1) Since Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in the middle of July the *satyagraha* movement in Bombay has shown little signs of animation. Immediately after Gandhi returned from Poona the rumour spread through the City that the movement was dead and Gandhi received several letters congratulating him on postponing Civil Disobedience. On the 15th July he told S. G. Banker to reduce the clerical staff on the *satyagraha* office and to provide for the clerks in the *swadeshi* Stores or elsewhere; and he advised the more enthusiastic *satyagrahis* to take to their spinning wheels. At a meeting of the *satyagrahis* on the 18th at which about 75 were present, Gandhi explained that one reason for postponing *satyagraha* was that he was afraid that all *satyagrahis* could not be depended upon to carry out his principles in the right spirit. He also said that His Excellency had given him certain weighty reasons, supported by the intelligent opinion of responsible and leading citizens, for stopping the *satyagraha* movement and that being, to some extent, convinced by all these arguments, he had consented to suspend it. Several *satyagrahis* subjected Gandhi to series of questions as regards his personal attitude. One of these questions was whether he intended to be present at the Town Hall meeting in connection with celebration of peace. To this Gandhi replied that the day could not be regarded as a day of rejoicing for India but at the present time it was a matter of congratulation from point of view of humanity in general. After Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in Bombay on the 20th July 1919; and after his letter which was published in *the Chronicle* of the 22nd, there were some signs of excitement among the *satyagrahis*. The idea gained support that Gandhi would persist in agitation until the Rowlatt Act was abolished. His reference to Mahommadan requisition also attracted considerable attention. At the same time Gandhi was abused for having led others into trouble and deserted them when punishment was clearly to be expected. People in the Cloth Market called him

¹The meeting was addressed by Gangadharrao Deshpande. with Gandhiji in his chair.

a *Khuni* (Murderer). This opinion was reflected in the *Hindustan* and other papers. He was compared very unfavourably with Tilak, as the latter and himself suffered martyrdom in jail. He was called an imposter and a liar.

On the 20th he left for Ahmedabad, returning on the 24th. It was clear that his popularity was waning amongst his most devoted followers. At a meeting attended by 200 *satyagrahis* on the 26th July he was mercilessly cross-examined by them. One drew his attention to the wording of the vow, which he had taken, to the effect that *satyagraha* should be continued until the Act was abolished. Another asked whether he had received any definite promise that the Act would be abolished if he suspended Civil Disobedience. A third asked whether he had started the movement of his own accord or whether he had been led into it by others. A fourth asked him whether he thought it creditable to him to leave people in the lurch, who would not have joined the movement and would not have gone to jail but for him. A fifth suggested that his policy had ruined many, and not only that but it had interfered with the good work that was being done by the Home Rule League and other associations. Gandhi's replies to these questions were somewhat lame and he finally told them that if anyone wished to continue Civil Disobedience he was welcome to do so at his own risk. He said that he had not expected that it would lead to violence, and realising the difficulties that had arisen, he advised them to suspend it. He tried to disperse the meeting but many shouted that they had questions to ask. He finally escaped stating that he would call another meeting on his return from Surat. This was the last *satyagraha* meeting. For some time two or three members have resigned daily from the , *sabha*. Many who have not resigned refused to take delivery of letters addressed to them from the *satyagraha sabha* office. I consider that the number of persons who now take any interest in the *satyagraha sabha* can safely be estimated at less than 100.

Page 716, Para 1086.

Bombay, August 11th.—A public lecture on *swadeshi* was delivered by M. K. Gandhi at the Nar Narayan Temple Hall, Kalbadevi Road, at 9-30 p.m. on the 7th instant before an audience of about 500 persons, including about 40 ladies. No prominent Hindus were noticed as being present. Gandhi pointed out that the primary duty of the Vaishnavas, who had assembled there that night, consisted in doing good to people in distress. When India was suffering from (1) epidemics, (2) starvation and (3) nakedness or scanty clothing, it was incumbent on them to try their best to ameliorate matters. He gave a few practical instances in support of the idea and remarked that it was not possible for them at the stage to assuage the first two evils owing to various difficulties in the way. They had, however, an efficacious remedy at hand to check the third, viz., "Nakedness". He said that about sixty crores of rupees a year were sent out of India for the purchase of clothes and it was very regrettable that about three crores of people in India suffer from starvation and want of clothing. The people should therefore open their eyes and apply the remedy by wearing *swadeshi* clothes. Every male and female should resort to spinning wheels and handlooms to keep poverty from the country. He then referred to the mythological story of "Krishna" who preferred "Sudama" dressed in wretched cloth to the pompously dressed "Duryodhana", and averred that he would always prefer to see men and women before him dressed in *swadeshi* clothes to those in foreign ones.

Shivji Devshi explained the three kinds of *swadeshi* vows suggested by Gandhi and earnestly exhorted the audience to take any one of them for welfare of their motherland.

Pandit Lalan and Jadhavji Maharaj dwelt in brief on the importance of the doctrine of *swadeshi* and advised the people to be practical *swadeshists* like Gandhi.

The meeting was then brought to a close as Gandhi was to leave for Poona that night.

Page 718, Para 1090(a).

Tlana, August 11th.—The Sub-Inspector, Thana Town, reports that M. K. Gandhi arrived in Thana from Bombay on the 3rd instant and delivered a lecture on "Cow protection". He returned to Bombay after the meeting, which about 300 persons attended. In the course of his address he said that so long as they continued to sell their cattle to butchers they could not complain of cattle being slaughtered. The remedy lay with each individual cattle-owner who should look after them and not sell them to the butchers. So long as they continued selling cattle to butchers they had no legitimate grievance against the Mahommadans who slaughtered their.

Page 737, Para 1114.

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, August 16th. On the 8th instant a meeting under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona to express sympathy with the Indian settlers in South Africa in their present troubles.

Rao Bahadur Khopakar, retired Deputy Collector, occupied the chair and M. K. Gandhi addressed an audience numbering over 2,000. He spoke in Hindi apologising for not knowing Marathi and for not adopting a suggestion that he should speak in English.

Describing Poona flatteringly as the seat of learning and the capital of India which gave direction to public opinion throughout the country, he proceeded to say that, as the result of the correspondence, which had taken place between Sir George Barnes and himself, he was assured that, in this instance, Government and the people agreed that the attitude adopted towards their Indian brethren by the white population of South Africa was deplorable. It was the more regrettable that it came at the conclusion of the great war in which the Indians, resident there had rendered the Empire material assistance even to the extent of fighting under General Smuts. The Indian settlers had not demanded a share in the administration nor the right of unrestricted immigration. They desired neither to capture the white man's trade nor to force upon him their Indian civilization. As citizens of the British Empire they might have claimed equality in every respect, instead of which they were merely asking for the most elementary rights of citizenship, to move about the country, to trade whether they liked and to purchase and possess land there.

He felt confident that if general publicity were given to the manner in which Indians were being treated in South Africa, the white population there would be shamed into fully restoring the rights they had curtailed, and, in this connection he remarked that a conference of the Indians in South Africa had been arranged to take place on the 5th instant. At this, after demanding civil rights throughout the dominion, the Indians intended making a list of those willing to resort to passive resistance, as in 1906 and 1914, in case their demand was not complied with.

After briefly explaining how the new act would affect the Indians in South Africa he went on to say that Sir George Barnes was misinformed when he wrote that the Indians had no complaint as regards the mortgage and the purchase of land by companies. On the other hand he was in sympathy with them on the question of the right of the Indians to possess trade licences.

The lecturer then appealed to the Deccan Sabha to approach Government with a petition to the effect that the Indians would not approve of any act that interfered with the existing rights of Indians in South Africa.

Alluding to a paragraph which he had seen in the previous day's newspaper to the effect that the Town Council of Pochestram had passed a resolution not only suggesting that the Indians should be debarred from the right of purchasing land, but also that location should be formed in which they might be allowed to live and trade, he compared this with the system in vogue in India of having separate places, such as a Maharwada, set aside for Low-class people. He further pointed out that, in effect, it restricted the Indian trade to the Indian community itself and this would necessarily lead to the extinction of the Indian Capitalist in South Africa.

This, he said, was a challenge issued by the South Africans. They must boldly face the problem and reply that, though the South Africans might restrict the immigration of Indians into South Africa and enact that they should take no part in the administration of the country, they could not deprive them of the existing elementary rights so far enjoyed by the Indians settled in the country.

In conclusion, observing that in 1914 Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, had admitted the justice of the Passive Resistance movement then in progress in South Africa, he advocated the formation of a body composed of Europeans and Indians wholly devoted to the task of removing the disabilities of the Indians in South Africa.

This he said, was a matter in which the Government could co-operate with them.

He therefore, put the resolution to the meeting confident that it would be accepted. Professor V. G. Kale seconded.

The following resolution was then passed:—

This public meeting places on record its deep sympathy with the British Indian settlers in South Africa struggling for the elementary rights of citizenship and congratulates them on their brave and sustained struggle and assures them of hearty support from the Motherland.

It further desires to thank the Government of India for its support and trusts that the Imperial Government will not be satisfied until justice has been done by the withdrawal of the act recently passed by the South African Assembly.

Page 739, Para 117 .

Bombay, August 20th.—A meeting of *satyagrahis* was held in Bombay yesterday evening. The meeting was timed to begin at 9 O'clock, but Gandhi arrived three-fourths of an hour late, and on this account proceedings were somewhat hurried. Gandhi announced that according to his information it was not likely that the Rowlatt Acts would be abolished, and it would therefore be incumbent on him to resume *satyagraha*. But before doing so he intended to give Government an opportunity of reconsidering their position, and with that object in view he would submit a petition,

signed by a large number of the public, showing that the majority of Indians were opposed to the Rowlatt Acts. He would draft the petition in consultation with the Executive Committee of *satyagraha sabha* and with certain lawyers, and would then take on it as many signatures as he could get. He was open enough to say that he did not anticipate that such a petition would have any effect on Government, but he desired to submit one as a matter of formality before re-opening his campaign. He further explained that by adopting this course he might placate such men as Sir Narayan Chanda-varkar, the Honourable Mr. Shafi and Rangaswami Iyer who had advised him to give up the Passive Resistance movement.

It would appear that Gandhi feels that he must do something to keep himself in the public eye, and it is a satisfactory likelihood that the preparation of the petition and the collection of signatures upon it will keep Gandhi out of mischief for some time to come.

Gandhi stated that he had been advised by many of his friends to institute a Gujarati paper on the lines of *Young India*, and he intends to do at the earliest opportunity.

He leaves Bombay for Ahmedabad on the 22nd instant and is expected to return on the 25th or 26th idem.

Page 769, Para. 1170.

Bombay, September 1st.—On Friday the 19th August a public meeting was held in the hall of the Shri Cutchi Dassa Oswal Jain Pathshala, Bhat Bazaar, Mandvi, under the joint auspices of the Jain Friendly Union and the Union Society, to protest against the deportation of B. G. Horniman, the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the heavy sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Commissioners, M. K. Gandhi presided. The proceedings were conducted in Gujarathi. About 500 persons were present.

It is noteworthy that Gandhi advised his audience to accept the ready made opinion of political leaders to the effect that the Rowlatt Act were bad; he did not advocate even discussion of the Act. After condemning the sentences passed by the Courts Martial in the Punjab, he proceeded to give a dissertation upon the uses and abuses of adjectives in public speeches and writings. It will not be long at this rate, before Gandhi loses the small following he has.

Page 785, Para 1191.

Bombay, September 8th.—The following has been intercepted in the censorship;

A telegram addressed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, Simla, by M. K. Gandhi, Laburnum Road, Bombay, dated the 6th September 1919.:

"Does reference disturbance commission included power investigated judgment and recommend cancellation or revision of sentences".

Page 816, Para 125.

Bombay, September 22nd.—A public meeting was held at Lal Bag. Bhuleshwar, on the morning of the 21st instant to celebrate the 51st birthday of Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi. Shri Kamala Sureshwari Swami presided.

Mavji Govindji Sheth, N. B. Vibhakar, barrister and Shivji Devji made speeches eulogising the services of Gandhi to the country, it was announced that Rs. 1,215 had been collected for the Gandhi Purse.

The following is from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 22nd instant:—On the 21st instant the *Bhagini Samaj* of Bombay celebrated the fifty-first birthday of M. K. Gandhi at the Vanita Vishram Hall, Mrs. Jaiji J. Petit presiding. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen from all communities in Bombay. The proceedings began with music. The soul stirring song of "*Bharat Hamara Desk Hai*" was sung by Mrs. Avantika-bai Gokhale. The Secretary of the Samaj read several messages of sympathy with the object of the meeting and announced several donations to the purse to be presented to Mr. Gandhi from various parts of the country.

A resolution authorising the president to send a message to Mr. Gandhi, greeting him and wishing him long life and the realisation of his ideals, was unanimously passed.

The president, at the close of the proceeding declared that the local and up-country donations towards the purse fund amounted to Rs. 23,000.

The Secretary of the fund announced that the fund would remain open up to the 2nd October, and that those who desired to remit any contributions might send them to him care of the Servants of India Society.

(b) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 27th.*—The following appeared in the *Times of India* of the 24th instant: On the occasion of the celebration of the 51st birthday of Mr. Gandhi, the people of Lahore presented him with a purse containing Rs. 600. The money was contributed by people of all communities and the purse was sent Mr. Gandhi at Bombay.

Pages 823-25, Para 1260.

Bombay, September 19th.—A demonstration in connection with the Khilafat agitation was organised on the 18th instant in Bombay. The proceedings consisted of a procession and meeting.

SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY¹

September 18, 1919

I am glad to be able to be present at this gathering and I thank you for inviting me. The question we have met to discuss this evening is not to me. Ever since my arrival, I have been mixing among Mohammedans of all shades of opinion and I know that it is a question among questions. On a right solution of it depends the future peace of this land. It therefore affects not only the Mohammedans of India but it affects the Hindus and others as well. It is a great Empire question. I was therefore pained to see that H. E. the Viceroy had only one minute out of fifty-five of his speech to the Legislative Council to devote to this question. He might usefully and legitimately have reversed the order. I have publicly and respectfully warned His Excellency of the gravity of this question. With it is bound up all that is most sacred in Islam. I can enter into your feelings for I know what Hindus would feel if their religious honour was at stake. I know that with you Khilafat is all in all today. I am sure therefore that you have the whole of the Hindus with you in this your just struggle. I have pleaded with His Excellency in a recent writing of mine that it is not enough that he has represented your case, that he secured representation

¹ Gandhiji addressed a predominantly Muslim meeting on a resolution on the threatened dismemberment of Turkey. Miya Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, J. P., presided..

²*Vide " Viceroy's Speech", 14th September 1919.*

before the Peace Conference. This is good but not enough. He has to feel with you. He has to make your cause his own. I respectfully suggest that both His Excellency and Mr. Montagu, if they know your feelings properly, should tell His Majesty that they should be relieved of the charge entrusted to them if this great question is not solved to your satisfaction. His Majesty's ministers are bound, representing as they do a great Mohammedan interest, to secure a proper adjustment of the case. We are on the eve of obtaining a measure of responsibility. It will be wholly inconsistent with a disregard of the Mohammedan sentiment. But I confess I do not fear the ministerial neglect of duty so much as I fear yours the leaders on the platform and this vast audience. If you and I do not do our duty today, we shall rightly deserve the curses of the millions of Mohammedans who are hoping that somehow things will come out right. Deep will be the disappointment if and when they find that things have not come right. The British rulers are shrewd and sagacious. And they take no time to find out whether we are serious or at play. I want therefore to ask you to ask yourselves whether you are serious about this very serious matter, Believe me that, if you are, nothing is yet lost. Our best thanks are due to those noble men like Lord Ampthill and others who are championing your cause. You have only seen one letter from the good Englishman, Mr. Andrews. Let me assure you that it is the least of his ceaseless effort on your behalf. But his services and those of the Englishman whom I have just mentioned will be of no avail, if you do not feel about it. You have opened with a prayer and you will close with a prayer. We cannot deceive Him, the ever wakeful and omnipresent witness. He will surely answer the prayers of the just. Your cause, all the best opinion of the world has borne witness, is just. Are you just? Are you sincere? The test is simple. A sincere and a true man is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. Are you ready to sacrifice yourself for a cause? Are you ready to sacrifice your case, comfort, commerce and even your life? Then you are *satyagrahis* and you will win. Hindus and Mohammedans sometimes come and ask whether secret violence may not sometimes be *satyagraha*. I have answered, violence whether secret or open is the very reverse of *satyagraha*. Absolute calmness and a (firm) resolve allied to a just cause always (brings) victory. To die for a cause is the law of man, to kill is that of the beast.

[*Young India*, 20th September 1919.

CWMG. Vol. XVI, P. 151 to 152]

Page 882, Para 1298 .

Bombay, October 6th.—Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi presided to a public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre on the 1st instant to celebrate the 73rd birthday of Mrs. Annie Besant. On the 2nd instant he attended a meeting of the *Bhagini Samaj* at the Vanita Vishram Hall, Sandhurst Road, where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 27,000 in honour of his 51st birthday. The same evening he addressed the members of the Muslim Student's Union at Choupatty. The audience was small, consisting of about thirty Hindus and thirty Mahommadans.

The main points of Gandhi's address were to lay stress on the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity and to encourage the young generation to regard themselves as the hope of the future. He urged them to work for the welfare of their country and to recognise the necessity for mutual sacrifice to secure unity.

He made an appeal to Mahommadan feeling by praising the Ali Brothers as having excelled even Gokhale.

SPEECH AT ANNIE BESANT FELICITATION MEETING

Bombay,
October 1, 1919

In opening the proceedings, Mr. Gandhi said that it gave him great pleasure to attend the meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the person who had devoted the greater part of her life for the public cause and they could feel justly proud in celebrating the event. He first knew her in England in 1889. He was introduced to her at the Blavatsky Lodge in England. He saw her answering the various queries and giving reasons for renouncing atheism and adopting theosophy. After replying to all the allegations, she had then said that she would be satisfied if after her death it would be said that she lived for truth and died for the cause of truth. When he had been to South Africa, he came in contact with many Theosophists there and from them he came to know the work of Mrs. Besant and they furnished him with more particulars of the work of Mrs. Besant, which information was not contained in the books published by Mrs. Besant. From all this, he was convinced that Mrs. Besant continued to work according to her own convictions, little caring whether she was praised or abused.

Coming to the *satyagraha* movement, Mr. Gandhi pointed out to the audience how Mrs. Besant stood by her own convictions, which made her believe that *satyagraha* had its shortcomings and the common people were not able to grasp the full significance of *satyagraha*. That furnished another instance that she cared for convictions of the inner soul more. She did not care whether these convictions were liked by the public or not.

He then referred to Mrs. Besant's work and said that he never in his life found Mrs. Besant at leisure, but found her always toiling for the public cause—even when she was travelling in trains. Though he found her 73rd year, he was glad to see her working with such zeal and earnestness as none of them could equal. In his opinion, the services that Mrs. Besant had rendered to India were immense and invaluable. She had dedicated her whole life and all her own for the good of India.

Referring to the present political differences with Mrs. Besant, Mr. Gandhi was pleased to see that even those who differed from her were proud to testify to the great services that she was rendering in England for India. By espousing the cause of Indians, she had suffered much in body and mind. Her company was even shunned by Europeans. But the greatest services, to the speaker's mind, which she rendered and which will ever remain a monument to her memorable career in India, was the introduction of Home Rule propaganda. It was only by her initiation that the movement was set afoot and now it had spread to every nook and corner of India, so that in whatever village he went, he found the villagers there awakened to the necessity of winning Home Rule for India.

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi said that Mrs. Besant had inculcated the *mantra* of Home Rule into the minds of Indians and it was his fervent prayer to Almighty God that she might live long for India's sake and might be able to see India secure Home Rule in her lifetime, so that contentment might reign supreme everywhere in India and India would achieve her pristine glory once again.

After two other speakers had paid tributes to the work of Mrs. Besant. Gandhiji asked the audience to give him permission to send a suitable message to Mrs. Besant, which was agreed to.

[*Chronicle*, 2nd October 1919.
CWMG, Vol XVI. P. 200]

Page 896, Para 1322 .

Bombay, October 6th.—M. K. Gandhi and the Committee to enquire into the Punjab disturbances.

The following telegrams have been intercepted:

Telegram, dated 2nd October 1919, from M. K. Gandhi, Bombay to the address of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

..."In view of forthcoming Disturbance Inquiry I wrote from Ahmedabad applying for revocation of orders internment and externment against me have just learnt Committee beginning enquiry end this month, I therefore request urgent and telegraphic reply."

Telegram, dated the 2nd October 1919, From M. K. Gandhi, Bombay to the address of Swami Shradhanandji, Prakash Office, Lahore.

" Please wire Ahmedabad what being done lead evidence before Disturbance Committee suggest central body exclusively devoted to collecting evidence proper counsel should be retained am trying secure permission enter Punjab."

Page 929.

From the Bombay Chronicle, dated the 13th October, 1919.

The Khilafat Day
Mr. Gandhi's Appeal to Hindus

To

The Editor of *the Chronicle*.

Sir,

The Khilafat Conference at Lucknow has decided to observe Friday next, the 17th instant, as a day of fasting and prayer. There can be no doubt about the intensity of Muslim feeling on this very important matter. There is no doubt also that the intentions of the League are distrusted. In one's darkest hour, God is the only refuge and it is to Him that millions of Muslims all over India are expected to turn for comfort, guidance, and relief. Millions of mouths will, that day, ask the Almighty if it be His will to avert the impending doom. A true Muslim can no more contemplate with equanimity the dismemberment of Turkey than a Christian can so contemplate the desecration of what is dearest and nearest to him.

What are the Hindus to do? I feel that they could do no less than their Mahomedan brethren. Their fast and My prayer will be the truest test of friendship and fellow-feeling. I hope that every Hindu, man and woman, will observe the 17th instant and thus put a sacred seal on the Hindu-Mahomedan bond.

There is also to be a *hartal*. It is intended to impress upon His Majesty's Ministers the seriousness of the position. But in order to be impressive it has to be absolutely peaceful and voluntary. Any exercise of force will make it thoroughly useless for the purpose for which it is intended. If the Mahomedans really feel, and if the Hindus are sincere in their professions

of friendship, naturally they will both voluntarily stop, work on the 17th, I have ventured tenderly to advise that in view of past experience, there should be no processions, no meetings. Everyone must remain indoors except volunteers, and the Mahommedans who will visit the Jumma Masjid. Any breach of the peace will simply mar a most excellent cause. I have, therefore, further suggested that the mill-hands should in no way be encouraged to stop work nor those who are engaged in the interests in public health.

Page 972, Para 1430.

Bombay, October 18th.—"At 9 p.m. Gandhi attended a meeting at the *satyagraha* Office. About 30 *satyagrahis* were present. Gandhi explained that the idea had got about amongst *satyagrahis* that the *satyagraha* movement was dead. He said that *satyagraha* was something that could not die. He intended to carry on the movement until the Rowlatt Act had been abolished. He was questioned about his attitude towards the Indemnity Bill. He said that now that the Punjab order had been cancelled he would lead evidence before the Punjab Commission to show that there had been no necessity for Martial Law, and thus no necessity for the Indemnity Bills. But the audience made it clear that they considered that he had made a great mistake in publicly supporting the Indemnity Bill. Gandhi then said that he was sorry to hear it and asked their pardon (*maf karo*).

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Page 331, Para 453(f).

Bombay, March 8th.—On the 3rd instant a mass meeting of about 5,000 Bombay Mahommadans, leavened with few Hindus, was called to consider the situation. It was attended by a strong contingent of Khojas, attracted doubtless by the presence of the Aga Khan, and by most of the Mussalman leaders. Baptista and other Bombay Tilakites together with Jinnah. Umar Sobani, M. K. Azad, Sheriff Devji Kanji and a few other Mussalman notabilities were again, as they have been on most precious occasions during this Khilafat agitation conspicuous by their absence.

Gandhi delivered an address. He called upon the Viceroy to place himself at the head of Indian Mussalmans in the same way as Lord Hardings made the Indian cause in South Africa his own. He strongly disapproved the boycott, regarded the proposed resignations as justifiable and exhorted his audience to direct their action to the Khilafat alone, without confusing the issue with irrelevant matter.

On the 6th Gandhi wired as follows to Shaukat Ali at Calcutta:—

"Preparing appeal regarding nineteenth giving conditional adherence. Advice you temper firmness with moderation and express truth in language love not hate then only shall we win."

Gandhi's appeal, referred to in his telegram of the 6th, is now to hand. It contains nothing unexpected. He deprecates as usual any violence in thought, word or deed; and makes it clear that should there be any manifest violence he will withdraw all Hindu Co-operation. He approves as an immediate measure the *hartal* proposed for the 19th which must however be a purely voluntary and pacific manifestation, and must make no attempt on the mill population. As an ultimate measure, should need arise, he advocates the slow and gradual stoppage of co-operation with Government. He strongly disapproves the boycott, and also any tampering with the army, which we say should be the last weapon to employ and

not the first. Withdrawal of co-operation must not affect private employers, but must be confined to Government. The appeal refers with approval to the Prime Minister's latest speech and with disapproval to the tone of some of the Calcutta resolutions.

Page 386, Para 492 (m).

Bombay, March 16th.—Kidwai and Gandhi arrived in Bombay today

Page 557, Para 643 (c) Bombay, April 12th.

Extract from the "*Bombay Chronicle*".

In connection with the National Week, a public meeting, under the auspices of the Bombay Branches of the Home Rule League and the National Union, was held on the open space near the French Bridge. Bombay, on Tuesday night, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding. There was very large attendance, among those present, besides, the Chairman, being Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the Honourable Mr. Abdul Kassim, Mr. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mohmed Chhotani, Mr. Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry, Mr. C. F. Andrews Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri, Mr. C V. Vaidya, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, Mr. Jamnadas K. Mehta, Moulvi Raffiud-din Ahmed, and others.

After the message of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who was unable to attend the meeting, was read by Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. M. A. Jinnah rose to speak.

Gandhi left Bombay last night and returns tomorrow morning.

Page 1064, Para 1043 (v).

Bombay, July 12th.—Non-cooperation Gandhi has wired the following to Khwaja, Delhi:

" Non-cooperation impossible in Native States without local guidance."

Khwaja on his part is not disposed to accept this pronouncement as finally disposing of the proposal he has apparently made but has since wired to Tilak, Shaukat Ali and others stating the facts and asking their opinion.

Page 1131, Para 1126 (b).

Bombay City, August 2nd.—After an abortive attempt the previous day the Central Council of the All India Home Rule League met at Bombay on the 29th July and resolved that in the present state of feeling in India the Prince's visit would be inopportune. Gandhi was in the chair. Jinnah. Banker, Tairsee and Jawaharlal Nehru were also present.

The news of the postponement has been little discussed so far; because the reported decision still lacks confirmation. Most of the Bombay papers have reserved comment. Rumour finds a possible explanation in the apprehended new war; and explanation to which colour is lent by the appeal issued to released reserved officers to rejoin the army when necessary.

Page 1165, Para 1131 (q).

Bombay City, August 3rd—On 2nd August 1920 being apprised of disturbances caused by volunteer corps pressing shops to be closed. Gandhi went round Bombay to maintain peace.

Page 1157, Para 1131 (s).

Bombay City, August 3rd.—On July 29th a meeting of the Central Council of All India Home Rule League, with Gandhi in the Chair, recommended to the serious consideration of the Special Congress "the principle of non-co-operation by stages". On the same day Khatri presided over a public meeting of about 2,000 people at which it was resolved to observe the *hartal* fixed for the 1st August. Though at times anti-Christian in tone, the speeches on the whole were moderate. The feature of the meeting, however, was absence there from of Chhotani and the bulk of the leading *Khilafatists* of Bombay. The Chief speaker was Gandhi.

In response to an eleventh hour enquiry from Dr. Satyapal Gandhi has informed him that there is no need for members of Municipalities to resign at present.

Particular attention is invited to an article written by Gandhi published in *Young India*, dated the 28th July and entitled "Mr. Montagu on the Khilafat Agitation". This frankly seditious article, a copy of which is appended for the information of Government, was reproduced in the *Chronicle* of the 30th July. No other Bombay paper has so far ventured to print it. It has not even appeared in the *Navajivan*, Gandhi's Gujarathi organ. The *Mahratta* mentions it with approval and the *Jame-Jamshed* with disapproval; but neither paper enters into details. (The *Lokasan-graha* also welcomed the article.—S. B., Bombay Presidency Poona.) The *Gujarathi*, *Bombay Samachar*, *Kaisar-i-Hind* and the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* do not mention it at all. It is not yet known what papers of other provinces have reproduced the article, but the following telegram was immediately despatched by Shaukat Ali to the editors of the chief up-country Extremist journals:—"Kindly publish Gandhi's reply to Mr. Montagu published in *Bombay Chronicle* of 30th".

Page 1189, Para 1163 (XXIII).

(II) *Non-Co-operation.*—(1) In order to claim the situation which has developed at Hyderabad, Sind, since the arrest of Pir Mahbub Shah and in response to urgent appeals from that town, Gandhi, and Shaukat Ali left Bombay hurriedly for Sind last Saturday night (7th August). On arrival at Ahmedabad however they received from Hyderabad a wire informing them that their presence was no longer necessary. In consequence, they abandoned their journey and returned to Bombay on Monday (9th August). During the few days immediately preceding their abortive journey they despatched to Hyderabad wire after wire urging the people there to refrain from violence. After this evening's meeting of the C. K. C., Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew and three others will leave for Madras, where they propose to spend three days in consultation and discussion before embarking on their tour through that province. Their present intention is to return to Bombay in time to attend a conference to be held at Ahmedabad the 27th August and to stop if possible at Belgaum on their return journey.

Shaukat Ali has cabled to Mahomed Ali the following account of the results of his tour in the Punjab and Sind:—

"Just returned with Mahatmaji, Kitchlew, Sarala Devi from Punjab. Sind, tour procession Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh masses adopted non-co-operation. Sind Khilafat Conference thirty thousand delegates adopted non-co-operation".

Page 1443, Para 1359(41).

Bombay City, October 4th.—A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Bombay on Saturday, the 2nd instant, at 3-10 p.m. Motilal Nehru was in the chair.

(a) *Attendance 35 out of the total of 177.*—The Chief provinces were represented as follows: Bombay 17 out of 20, Bengal 2 out of 25, Punjab 1 out of 20, Madras 14 out of 14, United Provinces 5 out of 24, Central Provinces 1 out of 12.

(b) *Chief absentees.*—Mrs. Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Chakravarti and Vijayaraghavaharya.

(c) *Business done*—(1) Arabindo Ghose having declined the honour, election of President for the December Congress held over *pro tempore*.

(2) *All India Tilak Memorial.*—Sub-Committee's report recommending raising of a large fund-15 lakhs to be devoted to propaganda, chiefly abroad and amendments considered. Gandhi wanted to devote the whole fund to the purposes of non-co-operation. Strongly supported by Shaukat Ali. Opposition from Jinnah, Umar Sobani, and others.

Question finally held over for decision in Nagpur Congress.

(3) *Report of Sub-Committee on non-co-operation adopted in substance after deletion of Gandhi's unauthorised criticisms and comments.*—Very warm debate. Gandhi started by repudiating Patel's dissenting minute. Nehru and Shaukat Ali supported him and demanded enforcement of boycott of schools and courts. Kelkar said even Gandhi had no light to handle the Congress decision in the manner adopted in his Sub-Committee's report. Baptista, Khare, Maji, Satyamurti and others continued the attack strongly objecting to boycott of schools and establishment of national courts. Nehru said far better keep the children ignorant or strangle them than let them go to government schools.

Note.—The net result of all this talk was the practical triumph of Gandhi. Jinnah and Jamnadas took practically no part in the proceedings. It believed that in consequence of the decisions taken, they together with Mavji Govindji, Telang, N. G. Paranjpe and D. N. Gustu will resign.

Page 1451, Para 1360.

Bombay City, October 4th.—A general meeting of the All India Home Rule League was held at Bombay on Sunday. Gandhi was in the chair.

Page 1630, Para. 1492(11):

Thana, November 9th.—Meetings were held on non-co-operation at Umergaon, Moakhada, Wada, Kurla and Bassein. None were important except those of Kurla and Bassein.

The meeting at Kurla was attended by 1,000 mostly uneducated mill hands. Gandhi and Ahmed Siddik Khatri were present. Gandhi spoke in his usual way on non-co-operation and likened the British administration to the rule of Satan and Ravan. He said that before December last he was all for co-operation with Government; but at that time he had no idea that Government would be treacherous. He urged his audience not to use violence and to sit quiet in their homes on the 16th November (Election day) and not to vote for any candidate.

Page 1635, Para 1491(21).

Poona, November 12th.—The great event of the week was the visit of M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali on the 5th November. Everything passed

off quietly and there was no trouble. Gandhi arrived late and had a small procession around Kirkee Bazaar and then went to the Deccan Gymkhana. The crowd broke into the arena and there was great deal of noise, so that he was not very well heard. After speeches there, he went in procession round the town and through Cantonments. The streets were decorated but the procession was not large about 1,000. It was also noticed that the Poona Extremists were not present in large numbers. Two Turkish flags were carried in the procession.

On the 5th evening a meeting was held in Bhavani Peth, attended by about 20,000 people. The volunteers created a good deal of noise and trouble, as is usually the case.

Gandhi's speech was fairly moderate in tone, though he and the other speakers referred to the devil-like character of the British Government.

Shaukat Ali arrived on the 6th November and put up with Chholani. He and Gandhi held a meeting in front of the Shanvar Wada that morning. Both Gandhi and Shaukat Ali referred in their speeches to the imminence of their arrest by Government and stated that they would refuse to be released by Government, but that the people were not to embark on violence.

Page 1639, Para 1491(29).

Bombay City, November 15th.—On the 14th instant a student's meeting attended by about 1,000 students and four times that number of outsiders was addressed by Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Sathaye and others on the subject of non-co-operation. At Gandhi's instance, Nimbkar publicly expressed regret at having broken up Mrs. Besant's recent meeting.

Diwali illuminations were disappointing this year though it is not easy to say that part of this result was produced by Gandhi's exhortations. On the 13th instant Gandhi visited the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, where he is said to have received promises of a lakh and a quarter of rupees for his fund. On the 14th 150 volunteers went out in procession, and raised another Rs. 2,000.

The following exchange of telegrams have taken place between Girdhar-lal of Amritsar and Gandhi. From Girdharlal.

" Home Rule Conference fixed 19th, 21st November Seditious Meetings Act applied Amritsar City should obey postpone or break and hold Conference, Wire your Pandit Motilalji's opinion, Lajpatrai and Kitchlew in favour."

" Obey order prohibition. Motilalji not here. Inform Lajpatrai others."

Page 1674, Para 1523 (37)(3)(d).

Bombay, November 27th.—Islamic (a) Last week a deputation from the *Anjuman-i-Attiba*, a society of Mussalman Hakims, asked Gandhi to include in his programme the boycott of foreign doctors and drugs. Gandhi refused on the ground that long continued strife between *Hakims* and *Vaidycts* had ruined the science of oriental medicine.

Page 1675, Para 1523(39)(c):

Gandhi arrived from Ahmedabad on November 17th and two days later left with Shaukat Ali for Allahabad via Jhansi.

Kolhapur, November 20th.—The Resident Kolhapur, and Political Agent, S. M. C. States, writes:—" M. K. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and G. B.

Deshpande arrived at Miraj at 11-45 a.m. on the 12th instant. Their intention was to proceed at once to Sangli by motor, but the Miraj Durgu people tried to get them to stop at Miraj. A squabble arose between the Miraj and Sangli parties which ended in Gandhi and company driving to Sangli where they arrived at about 1 p.m.

A number of pleaders, merchants and leading people received them with a large crowd of men and women of all castes and communities, many of whom had come in from the neighbouring villages. Gandhi and party were then taken to the house of K. R. Chhapkane pleader. At 2-30 p.m. a number of students assembled and Gandhi addressed them. He asked them to leave colleges and schools affiliated to the Universities which received Government aid, as he wished to destroy Government, which only produced slaves.

He wished to establish free education, by which he did not mean *gratis* education, but education which would give freedom and liberty. Education should be in Hindi or Urdu with English as a secondary language.

Although Aurangzeb was a religious fanatic he preferred him to the present Government, as he did not disarm the people.

The present Government was a godless one with no heart, whose only objects were money and power.

He asked students to beg their parents on their knees to allow them to leave Government schools and become farmers or weavers. Cricket, football and tennis had been introduced to make them forget their proper method of exercise in the fields.

A student asked Gandhi how they could get national education before they had national Government. Gandhi replied that the questioner was putting the cart before the horse, as national education must precede national Government. He then promised *swaraj* within a year.

The Kolhapur C.I.D. reports that a number of people from Shahapur (Belgaum) and Hindus, Bhoras, Kulkarnis and students from Kolhapur went to Sangli for Gandhi's visit.

At 3 p.m. Gandhi saw the proprietor of Gajanan Mill who invited him to visit the mill. Gandhi refused on the ground that there were no hand-looms there.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali went in procession from Chhapkane's house to lay the foundation stone of a free library. A silver casket and trowel were presented to Gandhi, who then addressed a meeting of women. There was nothing new in his speech, which consisted chiefly of attacks on the present system of Government, education and exhortations to the women to take the *swadeshi* vow, to go in for spinning, and not to wear imported clothes.

He said that money was needed for the cause, and suggested that the women of Sangli should follow the example of those of Ahmedabad, Bombay, Belgaum, Poona, Gadag and Shahapur by giving their ornaments. He added, apparently as a novel idea, that the money thus collected would be spent on the objects for which it was given these he stated to the advancement of their country and the education of their sons.

Chhapkane then made a few rapid remarks.

At 4-45 p.m. the party went to the *Masjid*, where Shaukat Ali addressed the Mussalmans on the Khilafat question.

At 6 p.m. the party went to the open ground in front of Maruti's temple where the mob received them with cheers. About 10,000 people are said to have been present. V. K. Joshi then proposed that Gandhi should take his seat on the platform and that Chhapkane should take the Chair. The latter then asked Gandhi to advise the meeting as to the best means of perpetuating the memory of Tilak with the money which had been collected.

Gandhi then asked all the educated people to leave Government service and serve the people. He explained that he did not mean them to give up earning their livelihood, but they must do nothing for Government, titles must be surrendered and merchants must not be agents for Western goods. Everyone should patronise *swadeshi* products. Students must refuse Western education which made them irreligious, unpatriotic and weak. He said that the fact that religion and holiness still existed in Maharashtra was due solely to the Brahmins, and that the Khilafat question had been sent by God for the purpose of uniting the Hindus and Mussulmans. Recently non-Brahmins had been trying to get up quarrel with the Brahmins, and he had reproved them for it and had told them that they would ruin themselves without hurting the Brahmins, as progress would only be expected with the Brahmins and with Government.

He then made an appeal for money, which he said would be spent in the interest of Maharashtra.

The silver casket and trowel were then auctioned and fetched Rs. 526.

Some Bohras of Kolhapur, headed by one Hassan Ali, presented Gandhi with a purse of Rs. 101. Gandhi and party left Sangli for Miraj at 7-45 p.m. The chief of Sangli, in furnishing me with this report, remarks that Gandhi was not satisfied with his visit, nor were the people much struck with him.

The collections did not come up to Gandhi's expectations, and his speeches were inaudible to the majority of the people they made little impression.

From what I can gather the majority of them came in much the same way as they would have gone to a circus and left disappointed with the performance.

At Miraj a meeting was held at the *Durga*. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali spoke on the Khilafat and non-co-operation questions. They told pleaders to give up their practice in the Courts and students to leave their schools and colleges.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left Miraj by the Poona Mail at 9-10 p.m. I hear that a movement is afoot to get his highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur to allow Gandhi to visit Kolhapur. If he comes I fancy he will get a reception which will lead him to leave Kolhapur alone in future.

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Page 85, Para 82(12)(a).

Bombay City, January 25th.—Non-co-operation developments up to 5 p.m. Tuesday, January 25th.

1. National Education, (a) Spinning will be shortly introduced into, and regularly taught, in the Gujarati National School, Bombay. Great efforts are being made to induce the Bombay students to follow *en masse* the example set by Calcutta. During the week four non-co-operation meetings were held for their special behalf. The first of these took place on the 20th

instant at Shantaram's Chawl where Gandhi, supported by the Ali Brothers and the usual array of non-co-operative talent, presided over an audience of six or seven thousand, practically all students. Much disappointment was expressed by the speakers at the political backwardness of the students of Bombay.

Page 125, Para 128(31)

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 31st.—Translation of an extract from the "*Sandesh*" of the 23rd January 1921—

"A new Trumpet of *Swaraj*. New Order of Gandhi."

"It gives me pleasure to hear that the movement to refrain from liquor is in progress. If this vice is abandoned it will give purity to our non-co-operation movement. It will help towards obtaining *swaraj*. Notices will come out shortly for the sale of liquor shops. Nobody should attend the auction nor take out a licence. If anybody takes out a licence, none should visit his shop to buy liquor. By this means the wicked vice will be everywhere destroyed,

Yours etc., M. K. Gandhi."

Page 157, Para 153(49).

Bombay City, February 9th.—During the week Mr. Shrinivas Shastri's three lectures on political subjects were all wrecked by non-co-operators. At one of the meetings, the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe was in the Chair. The following wire indicates the attitude assumed by Mr. Gandhi in this connection:—

"Please wire Banares description behaviour Bombay students towards Shastri, Kanj. We must prevent these scenes and dissociate ourselves there from."

Page 208, Para 181(51).

Bombay City, February 22nd—Turkish Treaty.—The Aga Khan, Chhotani. Dr. Ansari, Kidwai and Kazi Abdul Gaffar sailed for home on the 19th instant. Chhotani departed with the benison of Gandhi, the Ali Brothers. and the rest of the hierarchy of non-co-operation; although a few up-country dissentients mildly protested they did not understand how non-co-operators could accept such an invitation from Government. The following is the wire that Chhotani received from Gandhi:—

"You may go provided no surrender of minimum to be accepted and provided also Ansari accompany you as authorised secretary advisor interpreter Hakimji Dr. Ansari reaching there Thursday impossible for self leave Punjab. Postpone departure, Saturday week for full deliberation"

Page 276, Para 223(4).

Bombay Presidency, March 11.—The first meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference was held in Nagpur on the morning of the 29th December in the Congress pandal. Abul Kalam Azad was elected "President". There was an attendance of several thousand people, including Hindus, and a few Hindu ladies. Colonel and Mrs. Wedgwood and three other Europeans were present. Gandhi also attended.

Page 279, Para 224 .

S. B., Bombay Presidency, March 9th.—Gandhi is reported to have thanked the *Sanyasis* for their having taken up the cause of *Swaraj* and

non-co-operation, and said that he would be very thankful if the *Sadhus* would visit the vicinities of Cantonments and military stations and explain to the native soldiers the advisability of giving up their employment. He also requested them to move about in the recruiting centres and see that the people do no longer enlist in the army. He also appealed to them to try head and heart to train up people in religion and morality.

Page 348, Para 279(18).

Bombay City, March 22nd.—On the 16th March M. K. Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Jitekar's Wadi, Thakurdwar, on "Non-co-operation and the present situation", and exhorted the people to use *Swadeshi* clothes and to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. About four to five thousand persons attended. No one presided. The tone of the speech throughout is moderate and unobjectionable.

SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, BOMBAY

March 16, 1921

Mr. Gandhi spoke in Gujarati. He said he wanted to tell them a few words about the present situation in the country. He had toured all over the country and had earned a good deal of experience during the tour. but he had no time to tell them at length all that he had known and seen in different parts of the country. He could only tell them that if they went on with their non-co-operation propaganda work as peacefully as they, in all parts of the country, had done during the last five months, were sure to get *swaraj* in a year and so also the revision of the unjust Turkish Treaty and justice for the Punjab wrongs.

The great achievement that they had made during the last live months was that the ryot had realized that Government given titles had no worth: that the education imparted by the bureaucracy was no education and that foreign goods had no value. The ryots had also realized that bureaucratic-law courts were of no practical use to them.

Continuing he said it was not only the ryots that realized this truth, the other classes also had felt it. Those students present there could not honestly say that they felt it honourable to remain in the Government schools and such was the case with lawyers practising in bureaucratic courts. During his tours in Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces, he met hundreds of lawyers and students who seemed to feel ashamed, of course not ashamed of him but of themselves, because they could not shake off their bondage to those institutions which they knew to be mere shams. He also noticed that by and by they (lawyers and students) also were getting indifferent towards the present system of education and the British law courts. There were hopeful signs that full *vairagya*¹ would come over the classes, within the next seven months. It had been an admitted fact that India could not expect greater services from any class of people than the lawyers. As for the students they had tender hearts and undeveloped minds and that was why they were hesitating to come out of their schools and colleges which they did dislike in their heart of hearts. But he could tell them that it would impede the attainment of *swaraj* if they did not discard a thing which they knew to be bad.

The people, the ryots and the (other) classes had now understood that non-co-operation was also an instrument for the purification of the soul. He was greatly pleased with what he had seen in the northern parts of the country. He saw that the majority of the people there had not had

¹ The spirit of renunciation.

a single piece of foreign cloth on their persons. The students who came out of the schools and colleges were doing national work in numerous ways and he could not understand how non-co-operating students could become "anarchists" as was said in some quarters. He was convinced that those who had the cowardly minds of the anarchists, could never so courageously non-co-operate with their schools and colleges at the call of the nation.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he was sorry to hear that Mr. Sastri and Mr. Paranjpe were insulted at public meetings. He failed to understand what they could gain by insulting those of their countrymen whose views did not agree with theirs. He was greatly mortified when he heard that at Benares, that Sannyasi. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, also did not receive that treatment from his countrymen which his services to the country deserved. They must bear in mind that they would have to tolerate all that; they had no right to hate anybody. As one had to tolerate the presence of a wife, son or sister even though the wife, son or sister might differ from one in view, so they must tolerate all the views of their countrymen. They would never be able to convert anybody to non-co-operation by force if they could not do so by politely appealing to their reason. As long as they were unable to tolerate all opinions in the country so long they would remain unfit for any responsible task. Non-co-operation was their *sinistra* which taught to hate none. If he were asked he would have told anybody that he did not hate even Chelmsford, Dyer or O'Dwyer. What he was doing was simply to point out their blunders.

In all parts of the country the Government had made their grip tighter and stricter. At the beginning the Government were indifferent to them, then they began to ridicule and then to abuse them and now they had resorted to repression. He could only say that it was all for the best and that if they (non-co-operators) proceeded in as peaceful a manner as during the last five months *swaraj* would be theirs during the next seven months. The only thing required of them was to go on in a well organized and peaceful manner. They must not go to the doors of schools and colleges and then call out students, but they must convince all about the truth of non-cooperation.

Regarding *swadeshi* and boycott he wanted to tell them that it was impossible for them now to drive away all foreign goods from the country. They were to boycott only those goods which they could produce in the country. Cloth was chief among those goods. When they could weave cloth they could easily boycott foreign goods. In this connection he must tell them that he did not ask them to boycott Indian mills too just at present, because if they did so it would make the country poorer still. But they must see that the mills did their duty properly. Mills must not work for "capital" alone, they must work for the people too. They should now try to raise the price of their *Khadi*. They should impress upon Lancashire that they could do without her, but he did not mean to say that they should boycott Lancashire all at once because he knew that would only make room for Japan.

Concluding Mr. Gandhi said the 6th April¹ would be a day of searching test for them. On that day they would be tried whether they were earnest about *Swaraj*. He wanted a crore of rupees on that day in memory of the great Mahatma Tilak. Of course, he did not want that amount for his children or Lokamanya Tilak's children, but he wanted that for them and their own children. He knew that many among them would say that the

¹ The commencement of the Satyagraha Week.

money market....¹/₂ and that their trade was suffering from depression. He knew others would say that they were hard up because they would have to give their daughters in marriage. But he said they could easily sacrifice the money they spend for their smoke and they could easily perform the marriage ceremony of their daughters in *Khadi* without a heap of jewels. Men and women of India must undergo some penitence for their sins.

Page 350, Para 279(29).

Bombay City, March 22nd.—An article appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 18th March 1921, regarding the removal of the "Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha High School" from Surti Mohalla to a spacious flat in a new building at Dongri Street. The Bombay Muslim Public are recommended to support the institution by sending their children.

The following is a telegram sent by Gandhi from Nagpur to the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay:—

"Wired Karachi if non-co-operators try nationalise education they need not be stopped."

Page 352, Para 279(30).

Thana, March 25th.—Gandhi visited the *Sadhak Ashram* in Andheri on the 15th March and exhorted the students to continue their studies and sacrifices in the National institution. About 125 were present Gandhi left next morning for Bombay.

Page 362, Para 279(52)(b).

Bombay City, March 22nd.—(a) National Week.—The week will be observed this year from the 6th to 13th April. Gandhi is proposing to hold meetings on the 6th and 13th proximo and observe a fast on these days. A strong appeal has been made by Gandhi at a public meeting and in the press to contribute as much money as possible to the Tilak Swaraj fund for which one crore of rupees is required.

(b) Gandhi arrived on the 15th instant as already reported. After his arrival, G. B. Deshpande, S. G. Banker and Diwan Chamanlal visited him. Chamanlal asked Gandhi to give his views on the modification of the "Treaty of Sevres" Gandhi replied that it was an 'eye wash' and would not satisfy the demands of the Moslems. Chamanlal asked Gandhi to draft telegrams to that effect to the Indian Delegates, including Chhotani, who were now in England. Gandhi drew up a long telegram covering nine foolscap papers. Banker then began to detail the progress made by Gandhi's followers in Bombay during his absence in Northern India. Gandhi regretted that the progress came to nothing and that no practical progress had been made. Banker then said that some of Gandhi's staunch supporters, including V. J. Patel, Bar-at-Law, were non believers in the "*Rentia*" (Spinning Wheels) class and that the people in general much disliked using *swadeshi* clothes only. Gandhi replied that the progress in the Punjab and Bengal was enormous, and that in view of that he would consider the advisability of working solely in the north of India and Bengal. He also said that in view of advice received from Wardha, Central Provinces, he would at once go there as the people of the Central Provinces had made a definite move in stamping out the drinking evil.

Banker then wanted to know Gandhi's views on the alleged repression of public meetings and public speakers in the Punjab, U.P., etc. Gandhi

¹ Some words are missing here.

said that non-violent non-co-operation prevented people from breaking orders but it was open to the persons dealt with to get their speeches printed and circulated: which should be considered as good as speeches which it was Government's intention to stop.

Gandhi further said that when in Bengal he had *adopted the practice of not speaking on Monday* at all but to spend the whole day in meditation with his soul.

He left for Andheri to visit the Ashram.

Page 435, Para 320(19).

Bombay, 10th April.—Gandhi having returned from Madras in the mor-ing, the *Swaraj Sabha* organised two public meetings for the day, viz., (1) for the Mandvi merchants at Khadak at 4-45 p.m. and (ii) for the labourers at Elphinstone Road, Parel, at 9 p.m. At both meetings strong appeals were made by Gandhi and others to help the national cause by contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and by enlisting as members of the Congress Committees. Gandhi emphasised the need for introducing spinning wheels and boycotting foreign cloth for the attainment of *Swaraj*. At the Khadak meeting about Rs. 10,000 were collected and handed over to Gandhi. The sum included a thousand rupees worth of ornaments given on the spur of the moment by the ladies present and two thousand rupees contributed by the *Katha Bazar* merchants and grocers of Mandvi.

Page 444-45, Para 320(54).

Bombay City, April 12th.—M. K. Gandhi saw in house at Laburnum Road on the 10th instant Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe and another man from Poona, who wanted his advice as to the attitude the villagers affected in the Poona District by the Tata-Hydro Electric Scheme should take up. Gandhi advised them to send up a deputation from the affected villages to see him in Ahmedabad, when he would give final instructions after hearing details.

He also saw two men from Ghatkopar who requested him to go to Ghatkopar and appeal for subscription to the Tilak Fund. He said that the appeal had already been made and they should get to work and declined to go to Ghatkopar.

He left for Ahmedabad on the night of the 11th and intends to go from there to Surat and thence to Sind; it appears from the newspapers that the Municipalities of Surat and Bulsar mean to present addresses of welcome He requested all those who came to see him at his residence to wear *swadeshi* clothes, and in some cases refused to meet those who came dressed in foreign clothes.

Lala Gordhandas of Lahore who saw him wanted him to write to the leaders in the Punjab to put the people's case prominently before His Excellency the Viceroy. Gandhi promised to do so.

Pages 605, 606, Para. 399(11):

West Khandesh, May 9th.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was expected to arrive in Nandurbar on the afternoon of the 5th but having missed the train he did not put in an appearance until midnight..

Gandhi, accompanied by his wife and Moulana Muazzimali, a Barrister of Muradabad, eventually arrived in Nandurbar at about midnight and was received on the station by some 2,500 people. He held a short meet-

ing outside the station in which he complained of fatigue. He and his party then went off to spend the rest of the night at the bungalow of Jai-chand Somachand. He was followed there by a fair number of local enthusiasts, who requested him to pay visit to Sindkheda and Taloda. Gandhi, however, refused, and he later discussed with Jaichand Tuljashankar the political state of the district. Jaichand complained of the activity of certain Christian missionaries and as a counter-attraction wished to open an institution called "*Anath Ashram*". Gandhi suggested "*Balikashram*" as being a better name. It was then late and Gandhi was allowed to retire for the remainder of the night. A guard of 12 volunteers was posted at the bungalow.

On the following day, at about 7 O'clock, Gandhi laid the foundation-stone of the "*Balikashram*" before an audience of 200 people. He then visited the compound of the Atlas Company, and addressed a mass meeting of about 700 people for three quarters of an hour. Only Gandhi, his wife . and the Moulvi were allowed the privilege of chairs, the audience sitting on the ground. Before Gandhi spoke he was presented with an address on behalf of the public of Nandurbar by Sadashiv Waman Marathe. In the course of his speech, he criticised the local Muhammadans for not being enthusiastic about the Collection of subscriptions for the Khilafat cause. He laid emphasis on the fact that agitation should be carried on without a disturbance of peace and cited as instances the case of Laxman sing and Dalipsing, who maintained a peaceful attitude during the Nankana tragedy, and were subsequently killed. He referred to the ryot in Malegaon and said that the Momins had seriously retarded Indias political progress. He appealed for donations towards the Swaraj Tilak Fund and the enlistment of one crore of members for the Congress and the establishment of twenty-five lakhs of spinning-wheels in the country. Two silver ornaments which had been presented to him at the foundation-stone ceremony were put up for auction and realised Rs. 202. This was credited to the Tilak Fund.

The Moulvi subsequently addressed the people and likewise appealed for funds. It is reported that some five or six thousand rupees were credited to the Swaraj Tilak Fund and rupees one hundred for the Khilafat cause.

Gandhi then visited the *Dwarkadish Mandir*, where a further sum of Rs. 200 was collected. Gandhi addressed there about five or six hundred Hindu women and advised them to devote their energies to the spinning-wheels and Khadi cloth. Ornaments were given amounting to a total value of Rs. 800. Another temple was also visited and Rs. 776 were subscribed.

Gandhi and his party left for Surat in the afternoon. At the various stopping stations in the district, some three or four hundred people had gathered to see Gandhi, but no interviews were granted.

Page 616, Para 299(22).

Bombay, May 9th.—Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Bassein (after having attended the Maharashtra Provincial Conference there), at about 5-45 p.m. on the 7th instant. After a stay of two hours at Revashanker Jagjiwan's house at Gamdevi he left for Allahabad the same night by the Calcutta Mail. The following persons accompanied him:—

- (1) Mrs. Gandhi.
- (2) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
- (3) Miss Naidu (daughter of No. 2)
- (4) Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker.

Page 623, Para 399(61):

Secretary, H. D. (Special), May 11th.—M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* of the 4th May 1921 under Notes—Abuse of *Hartal*, as follows:—

" A correspondent from Karachi writes to me deploring the frequency of *hartals* in that city. I have also seen a cutting with the *Indian Social Reformer's* dealing with the subject. I agree with the *Indian Social Reformer's criticism* that the *hartals* have become cheap of late. They are fast losing their value. But for the sacred character of the 6th and 13th April, I would have refrained from advising *hartals* for those two days. *Hartals* are either meant as a protest against something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a *hartal* when His Excellency the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials, and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer he would make a popular Governor. *Hartals* lor imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust Government, imprisonment of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in sanitary conditions. The Government will cause to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear. *Hartals* therefore in regard to imprisonments are a symptom of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with the *Indian Social Reformer* that local leaders ought not to declare hartals without reference to headquarters. As a rule, I would say, save the 6th and 13th April. every other *hartal* should be declared by the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the *hartals*.

Pages 648-49, Para 424(11).

(b) S. B. Bombay Presidency, May 18th.—The First Maharashtra Provincial Conference was opened at Bassein, district Thana, on the 6th May and lasted for three days. The audience numbered, according to report, from 1,000 to 1,700 and were for the most part Hindus. The president elected for the occasion was Dr. S. B. Moonje of Berar.....During the moving of the fifth resolution by C. V. Vaidya, M. K. Gandhi and some of his Moslem fellow workers arrived in the pandal and Gandhi made a short speech. He referred to the Mulshi Petha *Satyagraha* movement and expressed his regret for not having been able personally to visit the scene of operation. He then turned his attention to the Malegaon riots and strongly condemned the violence of the non-co-operators. Such cases only hampered the progress of his movement and resulted in the destruction of the work already achieved. He reviewed the condition of Maharashtra and criticised the local agitators for carrying on the non co-operation movement in a half-hearted manner. The goal of *swaraj* would never be obtained until Maharashtra was prepared to sacrifice herself, heart and soul for the cause. He appealed for funds and made his usual remarks about the introduction of the spinning-wheel. The speech is reported to have made a good impression and some Rs. 2,000 were collected on the spot and 3,000 promised in cash.

SPEECH AT MAHARASHTRA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE. BASSEIN

May 7, 1921

Your love has drawn me here, I am sorry I cannot stay in your midst for long. With the President's permission, I shall say in brief what I want to. It is about Mulshi Peta that I must speak first.

It grieves me that I have not been able to go there myself and acquaint myself at first hand with the grievances of our brethren there. My knowledge of the details of the struggle is scanty. I rarely get a chance to read a newspaper. I naturally hesitate to speak or write on any matter about which I do not know much. All the same, I have given my views¹ on it in *Young India* without going into details. I convey my sympathy to those who are attending this meeting is representatives of the *satyagrahis* of Mulshi Peta. People fighting for their rights always have my sympathy. I understand that the people of Mulshi Peta are righting to defend the ownership of their farms. I stand by them in their claim. I always support people who are ready to defend their possessions at the sacrifice of their lives, but I can never join hands with those who are ready to kill others, be it even for the cause of truth. These people can get my help only for deciding whether they are fighting for truth or untruth. When I was asked about the people of Mulshi Peta starting a *satyagraha*, I had replied that, if the people had the necessary strength, the experiment was certainly worth trying. They have proved that they possess that strength. Whatever they have been able to achieve is good, so far as it goes. But they can have complete peace only when they are permanently assured of their rights. If a man does not want to relinquish his rights over a plot of land, it is not in keeping with the traditions of our country to obtain possession of it by recourse to law. I was once engaged in a small case; the man owned an ordinary piece of land but he was after me like a mad man to save it for him. As a father does not wish to sell his child, so also a man is naturally unwilling to part with his land. This has been our nature from ancient times. I hope that our Tata Company will take no steps against the *satyagrahis* of Mulshi Peta. It is welcome to acquire the land even without payment with people's goodwill, but I hope it will make no move to obtain it so long as even one owner is unwilling (to part with his piece). It may be European civilization to acquire land by recourse to a Land Acquisition Act, but I should have nothing to do with a civilization which I believe to be Satanic. So long, therefore, as the people of Mulshi Peta carry on their fight on peaceful lines, the whole of India backs them.

I wish to see the bravery of Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh in Mulshi Peta. Without raising a little finger, these two warriors stood undaunted against the attack of Mahant Naraindas of Nankana Saheb, and let themselves be killed. Their friends had advised them not to go the '*Gurdwara* on that day. Mahant Naraindas (it was known) had made preparations for killing them. But they had replied that they would bow their heads before the Guru Granth Saheb and that they could not be more fortunate than if they died with their heads thus bowed. Their words came literally true. Lachhman Singh went right into the *Gurudwara* and was killed as he stood with his head bowed before the *Granth Saheb*, Dulip Singh was left outside. Naraindas came out to kill him. Dulip Singh told him, " You have gone mad." He had his dagger with him, but he kept it sheathed. He was well-built, as the Sikhs generally are. Had he so chosen, he could have finished off two or three of his assailants then and there, but that was against his principle. He was bound by the Congress pledge of

¹ Vide "Notes", 27th April 1921.

non-violence. He was killed by Naraindas even as he was pleading with him. Only two such men in 33 crores are not enough. We need such heroes not only among Sikhs, but among Hindus and Muslims as well. Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh were not lacking in physical strength. But they had resolved not to draw their sword against anyone. I shall not say anything further about Mulshi Peta.

If these two brothers acted with great nobility at Nankana Saheb, the residents of Malegaon have displayed an equal degree of heinousness. No matter how foul the language the sub-inspector used or how grave the provocation offered by him, no one who respected the Congress could commit the dastardly act of killing him. It is the solemn pledge of the followers of the Congress that, for winning the country's freedom, they would not kill anyone but would lay down their own lives instead. Was Naraindas in the Punjab more sparing in his abuses? In Malegaon, our brethren abandoned their humanity. That way *swaraj* can certainly not be won. I am speaking not as a lawyer but as an Indian. It is only when, by desisting from such deeds altogether, we prove our claim to be peaceful that we shall win *swaraj*, secure justice for the Punjab, succeed on the Khilafat issue and in stopping the crimes being committed at present in the name of justice. The world will then see that, compelled by the strength of our peacefulness, powerful ministers have had to eat their words and stop the pensions of O'Dwyer and Dyer. It will discover then that neither Ireland nor Russia nor Egypt has the strength that we have. There can certainly be no comparison between them and us. Their movements of non-co-operation are a mixture of various elements. We depend not on cunning and denunciation but on truth. Why do we not stop payment of taxes forthwith? Because in other parts of the country also, there still are people as mad as those in Malegaon. To those people who think that they have a more effective weapon than this one of peace, I appeal to keep out. The least they should do is to refrain from obstruction the progress of the movement.

This is a conference held in Maharashtra. I have already stated in public what I expect from Maharashtra. My faith in it remains, I know that my work will be done when Maharashtra comes to have complete faith in this movement. Nowhere else have I seen the like of Maharashtra's capacity for self-sacrifice and its knowledge. Where knowledge is combined with the spirit of self-sacrifice, the *yagna* is perfect. When Maharashtra starts this perfect type of sacrifice with real enthusiasm, the country or this movement will have no need left for an ordinary man like myself. It is only as long as Maharashtra is not awake that there is need for me to work. Many tell me that Maharashtra is behind others. This is true at present. When Maharashtra comes to have a little more faith, its strength will reveal itself. Just as the sunrise needs no announcement by beat of drum, so Maharashtra's awakening will be evident to all. I pray to God that he may grant strength to Maharashtra, so that it can contribute its full share in this *yagna*. Nobody adores the Lokamanya as much as you do. He lived only for *swaraj*, he went to jail for it and died working for it. If you prove that you are his worthy heirs, we shall either win *swaraj* this year or die in the attempt. If you can do this, I shall say that you deserved to have Tilak Maharaj born amongst you. If you do not, give me leave to say that you will prove unworthy of him.

If you are convinced at heart that India has progressed more during these five or six months than at any time in the past, you will secure *swaraj* during this very year. Only then will you bring peace to the soul of Tilak

Maharaj. It must be in agony at present, distressed with the thought why Maharashtra still lacks the faith that it can save India by its *tapascharya*.

I trust that there will not be a single person who will go home without taking the pledge of such *tapashcharya*. I shall not be taken in by your raising hands (in support of the resolution). I am an idolater. What I want is the idol of solid work by you, not the idol of the late Tilak Maharaj. We are out to win *swaraj*. When some Sindhi brethren asked me what we would do if we failed in our efforts to collect one crore rupees, I told them that they and I would drown ourselves together in the Indus. I know that Maharashtra does not have much money, but it has plenty of strength. With that strength you can have showers of money, if you but choose. How much can you not do in this *pandal*, at this very moment? If you have no faith in anything of this, please tell the world that you, the educated people of Maharashtra, having drunk deep of the philosophy of Bentham and Mill, declare that what Gandhi says is all madness. My only grief will be to think that non-co-operation is beyond the power of reason to understand, though it is beyond the sphere of faith. However, it is for you to decide what you should do. All that I shall say is, whatever you accept, accept sincerely.

[(From Gujarati *Navjiven*, 22nd May 1921.
CWMG-Vol-XX-P. 66.]

Page 685, Para 441 (14-b).

East Khandesh, May 18th.—M. K. Gandhi passed through Jalgaon and Bhusawal *en route* for Allahabad on the 8th May. He was joined by Shaukat Ali at Bhusawal who had returned from his Benares trip.

Page 695, Para 441(23).

Bombay City, May 23rd.—"Gandhi's Message" about 500 copies of each of the four posters in Gujarati, containing Gandhi's Message, advising the public to take to spinning for the attainment of *swaraj*, were published by Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker of the *swaraja sabha*, Bombay, on the 19th May 1921, and posted up at conspicuous places in the city.

The following is the rough translation of the contents of the posters:—

Poster No. 1, Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—To gain *swaraj* means to introduce a spinning-wheel in every home and to spin yarn with that. Introduce spinning-wheels in your house this very day. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had from the National School at Princess Street.

Poster No. 2, Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—*Swaraj* by means of yarn. If you want to have your share in the battle of *swaraj*, spin as much yarn as possible. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Poster No. 3, Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—Ordinarily spinning is not a business but a duty. India was prosperous so long as there was spinning. Take up again the work of spinning with a view to make India prosperous again. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Poster No. 4, Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—Nothing else will advance India more than by removing the famine of yarn. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Pages 729-30, Para. 461 (14).

East Khandesh, June 1st, 1921.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bhusawal on the 21st May at 7-30 p.m. The train was late and when it steamed in there was no one on the platform to meet him. He waited at the station for a little while, and then W. V. Dastane and others arrived. He first went to

Dastane's house and after meals came in procession to Garud's field, where about 5,000 people had assembled from all over the district. Gandhi spoke for about 45 minutes after the proceedings had been opened by a few words from Dastane, who detailed the rise of non-co-operation in Bhusawal. He expressed regret for having been late at the station to meet the visitor. Gandhi said that non-co-operation was based on religious principles and to obtain *swaraj* non-co-operation with strict non-violence was the best weapon. He had been to Simla, not to ask the Viceroy for *swaraj* for he had not the power to give it; but he tried to make him understand the principles of the movement. They must attain it by their own actions. "There must be unity among Hindus and Muhammadans. Khilafat wrongs and Punjab atrocities will not be righted without achieving *swaraj*. If the Hindus really assist the Khilafat then the Muhammadans are certain to protect cows. Simple living is the chief constituent of *swaraj*. I appeal to your Mothers and Sisters to use Khadi cloth and to make it yourselves. I ask the country to put two lakhs of Charkhas into use by the end of June, for one crore of members for the Congress, and one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. If these desires are fulfilled then we shall proceed to a further programme. If the country does not co-operate with me in this, then I shall non-co-operate with the country. In future I will not permit anyone to come to me in a silk *pugree*; everyone must wear Khadi. Give up drink. Have National Schools. The Malegaon tragedy was very bad. Violence will only prove a drag. Give up the 'untouchability' question. Bhangis and Dhers are your brothers. I do not mean you should intermarry and dine with them; but if you have to give them food, let it be pure. Don't treat them like animals." He then praised one Mehtaji. (I am finding out who this is as I do not know him) Subscriptions were collected and the following among others, gave money: —

	Rs.
Dr. Paranjpe	100
Dastane	100
Gulabchand Marwadi	100
Dayaram Shiv Dayal	100
Mehtaji	300
	<hr/> 700

Gandhi left for Nasik side the same night by the Delhi Express.

Page 730, para. 461(15).

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Sangamner from Nasik at about 11 a.m. on the 22nd May. He was accompanied by one Upadhye, a pleader from Pimpalgaon-Baswant in Nasik District, his younger son Devidas, his private Secretary Mahadev Desai and Ramlal Parashram Kawnpurikar. On arrival he was met by the leading non-co-operators, was garlanded and taken in procession through the town which was decorated with flags and arches. During the day he addressed two meetings, one for women and the other for the general public. At the women's meeting he was presented with Rs. 175 and 8 tolas of gold for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, and at the general meeting Rs. 1,001 towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund and Rs. 101 towards the Khilafat Fund. Some Rs. 40 were also collected from the audience at the meeting.

From Sangamner, Gandhi proceeded to Yeola, leaving at 4 p.m. *En route* to Yeola he halted at Rahata, where Rs. 351 were handed over to him by Premchand Birdichand. Some 150 people had collected to meet him on the road. On his return journey from Yeola, on the 23rd May, some

or 300 persons collected at Kopargaon Station to meet Gandhi, where he alighted and was given a currency note of Rs. 1,000 by Mangubhal Har-govind Gujarati, towards National Schools. Some Rs. 1,000 were collected at Kopargaon towards Tilak Swaraj Fund. At Nagar Station at 2 a.m. some 2,000 people had gathered to meet Gandhi; but he refused to get up or speak to anyone.

The District Magistrate remarks:— "Gandhi's visit to Sangamner does not appear to have been a brilliant success. He was apparently dissatisfied with the preparations made for his reception and did not hesitate to say so.

Page 732, Para 461(17).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, May 31st.- During the course of the last week. M. K. Gandhi, addressed four large gatherings in the Sholapur District. On the 24th he visited Barsi and Kurduwadi, on the 25th he was in Pandhar-pur, and on the 26th in Sholapur itself.

His first meeting at Barsi was attended by about ten thousand people who were addressed also by Dattatraya Vishvanath Salunke, Najamodin Kamroddin Bori, and Abdul Gani. son of Ibrahim Sale, a member of the Municipality charge. The second speaker, member of the Barsi Municipality presented Gandhi with an address of welcome and was supported by Najamodin Kamroddin, a secretary of the Mohammedan Education Conference and a member of the Barsi Municipality Cow Protection Association, In his address in Hindi, Gandhi criticised the progress of the movement in the district. The number of spinning-wheels that had started was in no way encouraging, while the export of Khadi to Bombay was a clear indication that the local residents objected to wearing *swadeshi* cloth. He emphasised the fact that the object of spinning-wheels was not to encourage trade but to enable the people to clothe themselves without depending on the imports of foreign countries. The attitude of the pleaders and the progress of National education were similarly unsatisfactory, and unless some enthusiasm displayed *swaraj* could not be attained during the year.

In his address to about three thousand people at Kurduwadi, on the same day, Gandhi referred to his interview with the Viceroy and argued that the people themselves must strive for *swaraj*. He put before them his usual programme, viz., collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the enrolment of Congress members and the spread of spinning-wheels. He referred also to the drink question and untouchability. The address was explained to the people by D. V. Gokhale. A purse of Rs. 1,750 was presented.

On the following day, the Pandharpur meeting was attended by about five thousand people, Gandhi being the only speaker. His speech included the five points and was of the usual type.

In Sholapur, on the 26th, Hirachand Nemchand of Sholapur took the chair, before an audience of about five thousand people including some two hundred ladies. The president announced that a sum of rupees twenty thousand had been collected from the various institutions in Sholapur and that subscriptions were still coming in. The money was presented to Gandhi, who in his reply expressed his disappointment that Sholapur had subscribed such a paltry sum. In point of wealth and commerce Sholapur compared very favourably with Bombay, and as it was the Merchant class who had assisted the East India Company to establish their regime in India, it was only meet and proper that they should contribute handsomely by way of penance for past sins. Despite, however, the apathetic attitude of the

Commercial community, he had full faith in the poorer classes, such as the Bhangis, the Mahars and the coolies, and said that their scanty subscriptions would draw *swaraj* all the nearer. In other respects his speech was in the usual style. He emphasised the non-violent character of the campaign and referred to the "*pagals*" of Malegaon.

Page 737, Para 461(24).

Bombay City May 20.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay at 8-45 a.m. on the 29th May 1921 after his tour in the Bijapur District. He was received at the Victoria Terminus by the Ali Brothers. He put up in Revashankar Jaga-jiwan's bungalow at Gamdevi.

He addressed a mass meeting at Matunga in the evening, when he was given a sum of about Rs. 7,000 in aid of the Tilak Swaraj Fund by the Matunga people.

He leaves to-night for Broach to attend the Political and Khilafat Conference to be held there from 31st May. The Ali Brothers will also accompany him.

When questioned as to what happened between him and His Excellency the Viceroy, he said that he simply put his case before His Excellency, who heard him patiently and gave no promises. He asked all to go on with their non-violent, non-co-operation till *Swaraj* was obtained.

He said that after finishing his visit to Broach and Ahmedabad he would stop in Bombay for a fortnight to collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund

Page 768, Para 474(18).

Poona, June, 3rd.—Gandhi visited Dhond on his way to Barsi, on the 24th May, and addressed a meeting in the town at which Rs. 200 were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He was invited to Baramati; but refused to go as there is no local Khilafat Committee and the people wear foreign clothes. at least this is the reason given by Narhar Balkrishna Joshi for Gandhi not going there.

Page 849, Para 511(12).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, June 22nd.—On the 15th June there was a crowded meeting at Ghatkopar in connection with non-co-operation and the collection of subscriptions for the Tilak Swarajya Funds. Estimates place the audience from 6,000 to 10,000. Among those present were:—V. J. Patel. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Ansari, Dr. B. S. Munje, N. C. Kelkar, the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, S. G. Banker and Gandhi, while the speakers included the Ali Brothers, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, V. J. Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Hirachand Walchand Rajpal of Ghatkopar, and Gandhi.

The second speaker was Hirachand Waichand Rajpal, who on behalf of the people of Ghatkopar, welcomed Gandhi and presented him with a cheque for Rs. 40,000. Gandhi in reply made his usual type of speech and criticised severely the paltriness of the sum he had received from a class of people who themselves claimed to be wealthy. Instead of Rs. 40,000 he had expected 40 lakhs. He made his customary appeal for the sacrifice of luxuries and begged them to understand *dharmu* properly. He appealed also for concentration on the *charkha* and the 'untouchability' question.

Page 856, Para 511(18).

Sholapur, June 13th.—The District Magistrate writes: " Report about Mr. Gandhi's visit to Pandharpur (20th April) has been received. It is said that the visit fell flat, as the Marathas and most of the Muhammadans. except some at the mosque, did not join. The Tilak Fund only reached the meagre figure of Rs. 1,000 mainly owing to the general apathy of a large section of the mercantile community. Mr. Gandhi had to express his dissatisfaction at the response, especially as. it is alleged, Tiiak's visit to the place two years ago was much more successful.

Page 866, Para 511(52).

Bombay City, June 20th.—Gandhi paid a visit to Ghatkopar on the morning of the 15th to receive the town's contribution to the Swarajya Fund. The previous evening a deputation of six had waited on him and informed him that they had collected Rs. 25,000. Gandhi was annoyed when he heard the amount was so small and told them he would not be satisfied with anything less than two and a half lacs from Ghatkopar. The deputation promised to try and collect more but they informed him that his efforts to break down caste customs in favour of the untouchables had alienated the sympathies of many Vaishnavas.

Under the stimulus of Gandhi's rebukes, the contribution was eventually raised to Rs. 40,000.

Swarajya Fund.—There was an informal meeting in Gandhi's house on the 17th instant. The following were present:—

(1) S. G. Banker, (2) Uraar Sobhani, (3) Revashankar Jagjiwan, (4) Velshi Napur Mehesali, (5) Jamnalal Bajaj, and three Cutchi merchants.

Gandhi addressed them on the subject of collections for the Swaraj Fund. He said Bombay must contribute at least 60 lakhs.

Umar Sobhani said the people of Colaba had promised 5 lakhs, and that he was now canvassing the mill-owners of Bombay and he had great hopes of collecting about 20 lakhs in all, if however he failed, he would make the difference from his own pocket. This drew a compliment from Gandhi.

Revashankar Jagjiwan said he had been promised Rs. 75,000 by the merchants of the Javeri Bazaar and Rs. 25,000 by the Jewellers.

Jamnalal Bajaj said he had a promise of 20 lakhs from the Bombay Marwaris, and if they failed him he would go to Calcutta and collect the balance there.

Gandhi said he would like somebody to undertake the collection of five lakhs from the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market and one lakh each from the Mangaldas, Narottam Morarji and Lakhmidas Markets.

Page 876, Para 511 (88).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, June 20th.—N. C. Kelkar and other leading Maharashtra Nationalists are reported to have become suspicious about M. K. Gandhi and his interview with the Viceroy. Gandhi is believed to have made certain promises (similar to the Ali Brothers' explanation or apology) compromising the position of the Nationalists party. Gandhi, it is said, is regarded as a somewhat slippery leader and the next Congress

may witness a vigorous effort to get the non-co-operation resolution considerably modified. The *Kesari* has not yet changed its tone, but the *Lokasangraha* would appear to be veering round somewhat. In its issue of the 8th instant Gandhi's *charkha* was ridiculed.

It is rumoured that the Directors of the *Loksangraha* have decided to start an open campaign against Gandhi and challenge his non-co-operation tenets. The seceders believe that the non-co-operation resolution has remained a dead letter to all practical intents and purposes, while on the other hand, they have fallen into the bad books of Government, all to no purpose. They intend to work up a party if possible and establish a majority in the coming Congress, in open opposition to Gandhi.

They are however in somewhat of a quandary about leaders—Baptista has been lost: N. C. Kelkar lacks the spirit of his master: while V. J. Patel is reported to have denounced the Poona Nationalists for opposing his Malcgaon resolution at the last Session of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress at Basscin.

It is said that this spirit of antagonism to Gandhi has been growing for some little time and originated at a private meeting of about 250 prominent Maharashtra Nationalists at which Gandhi was present. At that gathering Kawjaulkar of Pandharpur, a non-co-operating pleader asked Gandhi to explain his motives for asking lawyers to suspend practice. Gandhi refused to assign any reason, except that he wished them to do so— a reply which elicited the retort that Gandhi was too autocratic and that the pleaders did not propose to follow him. The session is said to have the tacit approval of N. C. Kelkar and it is expected that the new move-ment will be welcomed in Berar, where the number of subscribers to the *Lokasangraha* has increased by about 300.

It would thus appear that the Bombay Presidency Nationalists are divided into three groups:—

- (a) Followers of Gandhi.
- (b) Those who have inwardly seceded from him.
- (c) Followers of Baptista.

Page 910, Para 523 (14).

Sholapur, June 19th.—M. K. Gandhi returned to Sholapur on the evening of the 28th May and immediately proceeded to the Shah Idgah, where he addressed a congregation of some eight to nine thousands. Maulana Moulvi Mukhtar Ahmed Saheb Siddiqi was in the chair. The chairman in introducing the lecturer, asked him to state what had transpired at the interview he recently had with the Viceroy. In response Gandhi said that he would not tell them what actually happened there, but he would assure them that if the movement was continued as at present, he was sure that they would get redress for wrongs done at Jallianwalla Bagh and a satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat question within a short time and that they would be nearing the goal of *swaraj* within a year. After going over the usual ground he asked for subscriptions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the Khilafat Fund.

Page 923, Para 523(25).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, June 30th.—M. K. Gandhi presided over the meeting of All India Congress Committee held in Bombay on June 14th and 15th instant.

SPEECH AT GHATKOPAR

June 15, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi, after thanking the residents of Ghatkopar for their address, accepted the forty thousand rupees which they had collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He accepted these rupees only on certain condition. If the sum they had collected represented the best efforts of the large merchants who were trading in Bombay, but were staying at Ghat-kopar then he would at once say that they would never get *swaraj* this year. He would have been satisfied if they had made the slightest sacrifice, but they had not done that. He was again going to beg of his brothers and sisters to contribute their mite towards that Fund. He was disappointed at the smallness of the amount they had collected, after they had admitted that Ghatkopar was a place where the rich Indian merchants of Bombay were residing. He was not himself alone who was collecting money for the Fund. There were the Ali Brothers on the platform, who, it was stated, managed to lead the speaker by his nose. That was not the fact. The Ali Brothers loved their religion and he loved his own and they were not going to give up their religion. Each had his own *dharma* and each had to follow it implicitly, come what might. Then there was the great Hakim Ajmal Khan. He was not an ordinary man to come to Ghatkopar casually; his fees were high and he charged one thousand rupees a day for such visits. He was not a doctor versed in the Western methods of medicine; he had a few secret medicines which were very efficacious. Then there was Dr. Ansari who was well-versed in the Western system of medicine; he had gained a diploma to kill people (Laughter) for if a doctor killed a man they could not take any action against him. (Laughter). Then there was the great Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was a great authority on Islamic religion and law. Why had all these great people come to Ghatkopar? Not for the purpose of making speeches to them ! For that was not the time for making speeches, but for work, solid work for the country.

The residents of Ghatkopar had given him personally Rs. 40.000 but what were they going to give their other guests like the Hakim and Dr. Ansari? They had also to give something to other workers like Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Mr. Shankarlal and others who had assembled there. They had not fully realized that this was the time when the prestige of this country would be assessed at its true worth. It was impossible that the people of this country could neglect to keep up the prestige of their country at such a critical time. They had not even got Rs. 40 lakhs so far. They had collected only Rs. 20 lakhs. It would be the duty of this city of Bombay to give the balance of Rs. 60 lakhs and he had not the least doubt about their ability to do so. He had every confidence that the city of Bombay would give the Congress that sum. He had put his trust in the four great communities in this city, namely, Bhatia, Memons, Marwaris and Parsis. He did not know what the Parsis would give him, and how much he could expect of them. Two of them had between them given him a sum of Rs. 1.52.000—Mr. Bomanji and Mr. Rustomji Ghorkhodu. His confidence,

¹Gandhiji was accorded a reception by the citizens of Ghatkopar, a suburban town of Bombay. Among those present were: V. J. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Sarojini Naidu. Dr. M. A. Ausavi, Dr. B. S. Munje, N. C. Kelkar, the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Jamnalal Bajaj. and Shankarlal Banker, who had assembled in Bombay for the All India Congress Committee meeting. Gandhiji addressed the gathering after Shaukat Ali had spoken. A similar report of Gandhiji's speech appeared in the *Hindu*, 20th June 1920.

therefore, now rested in the two great communities—Marwari and Bhatia —whom he saw at every meeting. If they agreed that *swaraj* was their birthright, then it was their bounden duty to try their best to get possession of it. In that connection he would tell them that until they solved the question of Khilafat to their entire satisfaction, they would never be able satisfactorily, to settle the problem of cow-protection.

When the address was presented to him it was stated in it that at Ghat-kopar resided the great merchants of Bombay. If those great merchants had willed it, they could have sent him away from the meeting with promises that they would get him at least Rs. 40 lakhs, if not more. They should have been so determined in the aims they kept before themselves that they should have welcomed any sort of sacrifice, rather than not answering the call of their Motherland at such a critical time in her destiny. The present is the time for collecting large sums and not for more talk. He had great confidence that even if the other communities in the city did not fulfil their duty the two great communities — Bhatias and Marwaris— would make up the required amount with the determination that they would never remain slaves of the British Government. It was for that they had to sacrifice their wealth so generously. In the next few months they had to establish *swaraj* and for that purpose they had to make great sacrifices. They had to make sacrifices of their rich foreign luxuries and clothes. Atia Begum had come to him for the purpose of holding a women's meeting in this city; there was, however, a lady with her who was clothed in the luxurious clothes of the West. He, therefore, told her that if the women of Bombay would only wear *khaddar* he would be their willing slave. The present was not the time for wearing rich ornaments or rich clothes: they had to give up all those luxuries. They had to consecrate themselves to the *charkha* and they must wear only *khaddar* Unless they did that, what was the use of going to a ladies' meeting? Did they know that crores of their countrymen and countrywomen were starving for want of food, going about semi-naked for want of clothes? How could they then have the heart for all the foreign luxuries which they now affected so much? How could they live a life of luxury when so many of their countrymen were suffering? It was the sacred duty of every woman to wear *khaddar*.

The people who had called him to Ghatkopar should first of all understand their *dharma* properly. It was not possible for him to give the people *swaraj*, not even the Ali Brothers would be able to give them that. It was for the people themselves to take it, it was for the people themselves to win it. If they were afraid of every Kabuli and every Britisher that came to them, how was it possible for them to attain *swaraj*? He for once could not understand why Indians should at all be afraid of Kabulis or Europeans. They were the brothers of Indians. Indians were quite capable of protecting themselves; they were also able to non-co-operate with them, if necessary. Why again, should the Hindus be afraid of Mohammedans and why should the Mohammedans be afraid of Hindus? If they were a God fearing people and if they stood together united, what was there to be afraid of each other? Unless they had the necessary spirit, ability and energy, Indians would never be able to get and keep *swaraj*. They should not confuse *swaraj* with parliaments or assemblies. So long as Indians could not protect their rights they would never be able to get them.

He was afraid that many Hindus had given up their *dharma*. He was brought up in a *vaishnava* household and *ahimsa* (non-killing) was in his blood. Mercy and non-killing was in him and he would never be able to

give up these things. In this connection he had received several threatening letters from *vaishnavas* because of his connection with the depressed classes. Because he had allied himself with the *Antyaj*s they had written to him that dire things would happen to him within a month or so. To them he would say frankly that if *vaishnavas* did not want to have anything to do with the untouchables, then they were not the real *vaishnavas* but only a godless and sinful people. That was not the ideal of a true *Vaishnava*. People who did not want to uplift the untouchables could only be called a godless people. *Vaishnava* religion did not teach them to kill anything or injure anybody; it was full of sympathy and love for other people. The same thing could be said of *shravakas*. These people were quite willing to feed the dumb animals, but not their fellow creatures who through their misfortunes were starving. These *shravakas* had the tenderest feeling for the animals but not for human beings. Did they call it religion? If *vaishnavism* taught them to despise their fellow-creatures, then he for one could not call it a religion but a monstrous perversion of religion. He feelingly appealed to the *vaishnavas* to give up such hatred for untouchables. He was not going to tell them to take (food) from the hands of *dheds* or sweepers. They had to realize that the essence of *varnashrama dharma* was fellow-feeling for the poor and the down-trodden and the depressed people. Their holy *Bhagavat* had told them what their true religion should be. It was not "touch-me-notism". It was essential that they should have love and feeling for the poor, and unless they had those qualities in plenty they could not call themselves true *vaishnavas*. For what was religion without love for the oppressed and the depressed? It was only a godless and perverted religion.

"Coming to the *charkhas* Mahatma Gandhi said, through the *charkha* the whole of India had become vibrant with a new life and it was also a means of righting their Khilafat wrongs. He was not asking them to take food from the hands of the untouchables. Let them leave aside that point and let the people of Ghatkopar take up the other roads leading to *swaraj*. *Charakha* was the potent instrument which would right the Khilafat wrongs and the wrongs of the Punjab and would give them *swaraj* at the same time. He appealed to the residents of Ghatkopar to concentrate their attention on the Congress programme, which they all knew, and he prayed to God that he would vouchsafe to them enough strength to do their duty to their country and reach the goal of *swaraj* by the right path. (Loud cheers).

Mr. Gandhi then asked the audience, consisting of both women and men, to contribute their mite towards the Tilak Fund and pay it to the volunteers. At the same time he wanted the contributions to be made with *shraddha*. He did not want them to give anything to their country unwillingly. Those *shravakas* and *vaishnavas* who had given any money to the Fund were quite at liberty to take it back, for he did not want such unwillingly paid contributions. He only wanted money to be given with *shraddha*. Those who wanted to take back their money were at liberty to do so.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, dated 16th June 1920.
CWMG Vol. XX, P. 233]

Page 928, Para 523 (38).

Bombay City, June 27th.—The merchants and residents of Mandvi Ward met in the afternoon on the 26th June 1921 at New Chinch Bunder Road to present a purse to Gandhi for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The meeting took place in a godown which could accommodate ten or twelve thousand

people at the outside, but there must have been double that number present. The heat was oppressive and owing to the over-crowding the audience endured much discomfort. Many of them unable to bear it any longer left the place before Gandhi arrived, but dropped their contributions into the collecting boxes as they left. Gandhi, however, stuck it out to the end, intent only on the collection of as large a sum as possible.

Khatri, who is a member of the Mandvi District Congress Committee, had collected 5 lakhs in the Ward which he presented to Gandhi. Collections were also made on the spot and it is said that Rs. 75,000 more was collected in this way.

The collection of the five lakhs came from the following Associations and bodies:

	Rs.
(1) Mandvi District Congress Committee	18,480
(2) Rice Merchants' Association	1,01,001
(3) Lohana Community Mahajan	1,00,000
(4) Grain Merchants' Association	1,00,000
(5) Kariana Bazaar	43,000
(6) Japan-Shanghai Merchants' Association	21,000
(7) Drug Merchants' Association	20,000
(8) Sugar Merchants' Association	12,000
(9) Jain Mahajan Association	6,000
(10) Kachi Dasa Mahajan	8,000
(11) Ghee Bazaar Association	5,000
(12) Furniture Merchants' Association and Kheja Mahajan.	5,000
(13) Fan Merchants' Association	8,000
(14) Multani Shroff Association	5,000
(15) Small Associations and individuals	11,000
Total	4,63,481

Gandhi thanked the Mandvi merchants for the purse, but said that he had hoped to obtain a larger contribution from the rich merchants of Mandvi.

The meeting dispersed at 4-30 p.m. amid cries of Gandhi-ki-jai, etc.

(2) During the week under report Gandhi devoted all his energies to collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Below are shown some of the results: —

On 21st June 1921 he visited the spinning class conducted by the *Hind Mahila Samaj* at New Bhatwadi, Bombay, at the invitation of Mrs. Avantika-bai Gokhale. A sum of Rs. 2,658 was handed over to him by Mrs. Gokhale (on behalf of the *Mahila Samaj*) for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. This amount included a thousand rupees, the sum realised by the sale of Mrs Gokhale's pearl bangles.

At about 9-30 p.m. he and Mrs. Gandhi were welcomed by the *Surati Mahayavanshi Community* and other Parel residents at the hall of the Cur-rimbhoy Kamgar Samaj at DeLisle Road. A sum of Rs. 106 was presented to him for the Swaraj Fund.

On 22nd June 1921, at about 9 a.m. he formally opened the Lokamanya Tilak Girls High School at *Gandharva Mahavidyalaya* Hall, Sandhurst Road. About Rs. 2,000 and a few ornaments were collected on the spot.

On the 25th June 1921 he was presented with a purse of Rs. 1,100 by the Primary School Teachers at *Cutch Dasa Oswal Mahajanwadi*, Khadak.

He attended a meeting of the *Bhavsar Community* at Kanji Khetsey's Wadi, Modikhana. He was given a purse of Rs. 1,600 by the *Bhavsar Community*, and about Rs. 1,000 were collected on the spot.

On 26th June 1921, he visited Santa Cruz, where a sum of Rs. 40,000 was given to him.

He was presented with a purse of about 5 lakhs by the merchants and residents of Mandvi at New Chinchbunder Road, about Rs. 75,000 in addition were collected on the spot.

He was welcomed by the shoe makers and cobblers of Bombay at Kazipura near Two Tanks and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was presented to him.

Page 963, Para 548 (5) (6).

Bombay Suburban Area, June 26. On the 19th June M. K. Gandhi attended a meeting at Ville Parle and received a purse of Rs. 10,000. Contributions were made at the meeting. The amount promised and collected has not been announced. The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 20th June gives a fairly accurate account of the meeting.

SPEECH ON SWARAJ. BOMBAY¹

June 19. 1921

Mr. Gandhi said the people had been sitting in the *mandap* for more than an hour. He was thankful to them for erecting the *pandal*, in the erection of which the rich and poor of the place had taken a hand and in this he saw the sure foundation of *swaraj*. He was grateful to them for all they had done in welcoming him. He was highly pleased that, in the collection of the funds, all classes and communities had taken part—Hindus; and Muslims and Parsis. Therein lay the secret of *swaraj*. He, however, appealed to his sisters and brothers to give him all they had to give to the Fund. India was working for a *Dharmarajya* and a *Nitirajya*², and Indians were going to follow the right path, the straight path and the honest path. He was extremely sorry he was so very late in coming to the meeting but the fact was that his motor broke down on the road and he had to collect Rs. 60,000 from Velji Lakhmsee Napoo on account of Mandvi Ward. He hoped the people of Ville Parle would contribute a like amount for the Tilak Fund.

Mahatma Gandhi then referred to the meeting of Parsis and the questions he had been asked there. He said he would explain several points more fully this time. He was told that there was unity between the 23 crores of Hindus and 7 crores of Muslims and that between them the 80,000 Parsis, would suffer. It was the duty of the communities who were in a majority to safeguard the interests of the minorities and look after them, and that was the first principle of *swaraj* which they had to keep in view. The majorities should not neglect the interest of the minorities. Then one Bohra gentleman had written to him that he (Mr. Gandhi) was only naming the *Memons* and not the *Bohras* and he had been asked whether he suspected the Bohras. To that he would say that he had not meant that at all. He had used the word *Memon* for the whole of the Mohammedan community and not for any particular sect. He would mention in that regard that a *Bohr* a gentleman had taken him to his house and presented him with a sum of Rs. 1,000 for the Fund. He, however, deprecated all such doubts and suspicions towards each other, and so long as they entertained any such feelings towards their sister communities, *swaraj* would never be attained by them.

¹Delivered at a public meeting at Ville Parle, a suburb in northern Bombay, at which Gandhiji was presented with a purse for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

²Literally, reverence, here devotion. Rule of righteousness and morality.

He had been asked at the previous day's meeting whether they should not wear mill-made cloth. To that question his answer was that mill-made cloth was for the poorest and the rich and well-to-do people should wear *khaddar*. If they could not do that, they could not get *swaraj*. Another Parsi gentleman had asked him as to what he would do in case they were attacked by Japan and other nations. His answer was that man was a selfish creature and if the Japanese found that they could not send their goods to the Indians, and that they did not use them at all, India would not be of any use to them. If Indians did not care to use foreign made things what use would India be to the Japanese?

He then introduced Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as a great man among the Mohammedans and as one who wielded much influence among them He was capable of doing immense good to the two communities and he hoped they would listen to him after the collections were made.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*. 20th June 1921.
CWMG, Vol. XX, P. 245]

Ibid, July 5th.—During the past week great efforts have been made by V. J. Patel to raise money on behalf of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. On the 26th ultimo Gandhi and his usual party visited Santacruz in the morning when it is reported, Rs. 40,000 was presented to him.

On the 30th Gandhi and party visited Borivli and Malad. It is reported that Rs. 45,000 was presented at Borivli and Rs. 12,000 at Malad.

On the 1st instant they visited Bandra where it is reported he received Rs. 15,000.

The amount actually paid over in cash is not known, but it is believed that a great deal of the amounts reported above have only been promised.

(6) *Thana*, July 6th.—The following is a rough estimate of collection and promises:—

	Rs.
Palghar	1,000
Bassein	1,500
Umbergaon	4,000
Bhiwandi	4,000
Pudgha	2,000
Wada	350
Total	<u>12,850</u>

I should say that the whole district would not subscribe more than Rs. 20,000.

Pages 964-67, Para 548(14).

Bombay City, July 4th.— M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedahad on the 27th June 1921 and returned to Bombay on the 30th idem. He alighted at Dadar on his way to Bombay and proceeded to Borivli to receive the contributions to the Fund from the Borivli residents. About Rs. 45,000 are reported to have been collected there. He returned from Borivli before noon.

Below are some of the results of his efforts to make up one crore of rupees by 12 midnight on that day: —

(1) At about 1 p.m. he visited the Mangaldas Cloth Market with the Ali Brothers and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. A purse of about Rs. 35,000 was given to him for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Shaukat Ali put up a Khilafat Note of Rs. 1 for auction which fetched Rs. 1,001 from Muhammadan merchant. The gist of Gandhi's advice to the market people was to deal in *khaddar* instead of foreign goods.

(2) At about 2-30 p.m. he and his followers attended a meeting of the Lohanas at Daryasthan. Mandvi. About 3,000 persons, including about 800 ladies, were present. The Lohana community presented a purse of Rs. 1,10,000. About a thousand rupees were collected on the spot. The Lohanas were advised by him to use *Swadeshi* clothes, to give national education to their children and to take up national work.

(3) At about 3-30 p.m. the Bombay Jewellers met in a *shamrana* pitched in the compound of the Pannalal Terraces, Grant Road. to present a purse to Gandhi in aid of the Fund. About 10,000 persons, including about 500 ladies attended. A purse of about Rs. 2,32,000 was presented by Gulabchand Devchand together with an address which was written out on a *khadi* handkerchief and contained a prayer that God would help Gandhi in reaching the goal of *swaraj* to which they all aspired. Most of the jewellers of Bombay subscribed though some of the most prominent of them did not attend the meeting. Rewashankar Jagjiwan subscribed Rs. 25,000 and exerted his *influence to induce* other, to sub- scribe. About 60,000 rupees which were collected from small associa tions and bodies, including the Grass Merchants. Plumbers, etc., were also handed over at the time. Collections on the spot were also made which brought the total about Rs. 3 lakhs. Rewashankar Jagjiwan in a short speech informed *the* audience that the Fund would be utilized in the establishment of national schools and colleges, spinning propaganda and the removal of the drink evil. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction at the sum collected in view of the prevailing conditions of the Javari Bazaar. He concluded his short speech by advising the audience, and particularly the ladies, to give up luxurious habits and to discard their fine raiment in favour of *swadeshi*.

(4) At about 5 p.m. he attended the meeting of the Cotton merchants and Brokers held at the Colaba Cotton Green. About 7,000 persons, mostly Marwari and other Cotton Merchants, attended. Mathurdas Vasanji Khimji gave a purse of about Rs. 1,54,000 on behalf of the Colaba Cotton Merchants. A motor car valued at about Rs. 12,000 was presented by one Durgadulji and put up for auction: but the highest bid was only Rs. 6,500: it was therefore not knocked down and is at present part of the assets of the Swaraj Fund. Two bales of cotton were also put up for auction; the one on which Gandhi was sitting went for Rs. 6,100; the other, not so pleasantly favoured only fetched Rs. 2,500. About Rs. 10,000 were collected on the spot.

(5) At about 6 p.m. the residents of the Fort numbering about 2,000 presented him with a purse of about Rs. 1,50,000 at Kanji Khetsi's Wadi. Mint Road.

(6) At about 6-45 p.m. the Parsis numbering about a thousand headed by K. K. Suntoke, Pleader, Barjorji Framji Bharucha and K. F. Nariman, Pleader, met at the Excelsior Theatre and presented a purse of Rs. 30,000, the contributions of the Parsi friends and admirers of

Gandhi. The leaders of Parsi Society were conspicuous by their absence. Gandhi and the various Parsi speakers flattered each other on their many noble qualities and achievements, and Gandhi suggested that the Parsi ladies should come out and assist the volunteers on picketing duty.

(7) About 9-30 p.m. the members of the *Swaraj Sabha* Volunteers Corps and the other public workers presented a purse of Rs. 5,000 through Shaukat Ali as Gandhi had no time to attend the meeting which was held at Chikali-wadi, Grant Road.

(8) At about 9-30 p.m. a public meeting under the auspices of the Mandvi District Congress Committee was held in a godown at Chinch-bunder Road. Mandvi, where about 10,000 persons attended. Admission, to this meeting was by tickets of Rs. 2 and Re. 1 each. The usual speeches advising the use of *swadeshi* cloth instead of foreign and the adoption of the *charkha* were made by Gandhi, the Ali Brothers and Mrs. Naidu. About a lakh of rupees were given to Gandhi together with some collections on the spot and a few ornaments.

(9) On 1st July 1921 he visited Bandra in the morning with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. A purse of about Rs. 15,000 was presented to him.

(10) At about 5-20 p.m. he was presented with a purse of about Rs. 400 by the Bhangis, Mahars and Dheds of Walpakhadi, Mazagaon. About 3,000 persons attended. They were advised by Gandhi to take up to weaving and to spread the use of *khaddar*.

The total collection of the city amounted to about Rs. 37,00,000 according to Gandhi's account in the issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 1st instant. The Special Supplement issued by the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 1st July 1921, gives the amounts contributed by the different provinces up-to-date as a total of one hundred and three lakhs.

A private meeting of the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held at 5-15 p.m. on the 3rd July (for about an hour and half) at the Hall of the Presidency Association to meet M. K. Gandhi and to consider his proposals for the Administration of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The following persons, among the 20 who attended, were noticed:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| (1) M. K. Gandhi. | (9) Jivraj Goculdas Ncnsey, |
| (2) S. B. Banker, | (10) Umar Sobhani. |
| (3) Dr. B. M. Velkar, | (11) B. N. Meisheri, |
| (4) Dr. N. D. Savarkar, | (12) P. G. Sahasrabudhe. |
| (5) Dr. D. D. Sathave, | (13) Rewashankar Jagjivan. |
| (6) V. A. Desai, | (14) K. G. Sanzgiri, |
| (7) L. R. Tairsee, | (15) Govindji Vasanji, |
| (8) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (16) Moazam Ali. | |

Gandhi proposed the adoption of the two following resolutions which were discussed and passed unanimously:—

Resolution I.—The following persons are hereby appointed trustees to hold the Tilak Swaraj Fund collections made in the City of Bombay:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Jamnalal Bajaj. | (5) Godrej (who donated 3 lakhs). |
| (2) Umar Sobhani, | (6) Raghavji Purshottam, |
| (3) L. R. Tairsee, | (7) Rewashankar Jagjiwan. |
| (4) Velji Lakhamsey Napoo. | |

Resolution II.—The amounts collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in Bombay can only be spent for the following objects

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) National education, | (4) Elevation of the suppressed |
| (2) Home industries. | Classes. |
| (3) Famine. | (5) Temperance. |

It was decided that none of the money collected in Bombay City should be utilised for any purpose outside the Presidency of Bombay unless the All-india Congress Committee made a recommendation to that effect and such recommendation received the approval of the Bombay Provincial Committee.

SPEECH AT BOMBAY MEETING¹

June 30. 1921

Mahatmaji said the great enthusiasm which he had noticed with the men and women at Bombay promised a hopeful future and he hoped they would be able to realize the vow which they had once taken in Calcutta and then again at Nagpur. He did not know till that hour what exact amount was collected in the country. But only a few minutes ago he had learnt that Khathiawar had collected more than two lakhs and in the morning he received a cheque for Rs. 25,000 from a gentleman. They did not expect anything more than Rs. 50,000 from Kathiawar. From what he had been noticing he was hopeful that a crore would be collected. But he wanted to be sure about it and therefore wanted an assurance from some of the mill-owners of Bombay that, in case the wanted amount was not collected, they would make up the deficit. He earnestly hoped he would get such an assurance. Continuing, he said that he would take that opportunity of speaking a few words to the ladies about the faith and prestige of their country. As everyone knew, women were the trustees of their honor and they were the producers of the nation. The nation could be a strong or an ideal nation only when their women were thoroughly religion, and patriotic. At present the chastity and the religion of the Indian women were involved in *khaddar*. He therefore appealed to them that they should from now on abandon all foreign clothes and adorn themselves and their children in pure *khaddar*.

[*The Bombay Chronicle* 2nd July 1921
CWMG Vol. XX, P. 311]

SPEECH AT BANDRA MEETING²

July 1, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said they had not been able to get any sleep the previous night. They were in the theatre till 2 a.m. They had not gone there to see the play, but to collect money for the Tilak Fund and when he saw his friend Mahomed Ali bringing in his bag a sum of Rs. 25,000 in addition to ornaments, he was very glad that he had again gone to the theatre after 30 years. That was the reason why the Ali Brothers had not been able to come to the meeting. They were quite tired and exhausted. He himself would not have been able to come there had it not been for

¹A meeting was held in the evening under the auspices of the Mandvi Waal Congress Committee at New Chinch Bunder, for raising further contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

²Gandhiji addressed a meeting held in the morning in a suburb of North Bombay to present him a cheque for Rs. 15,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

his promise to Mr. Patel. He agreed with Mr. Patel that they wanted to collect the amount in small sums from poor men and he would have been glad if the poor of this land had given him the one crore of rupees by small contributions. They had been able to collect nearly a crore of rupees. Forty-four lakhs had been collected in the rest of India and the balance had been collected in this presidency. He wanted to publish it that they had been able to collect one crore of rupees and that the self-respect of this country had been kept. By midnight yesterday they had succeeded in collecting about 81 to 82 lakhs of rupees. When they were able to collect such a large sum in so few days, they would be able to collect the balance very easily. He had, however, talked to some four or five rich men about the deficiency and they had promised to make good the balance. He did not want to publish it to the world that he had taken a guarantee because his friends told him that, if their names were published, it would merely be advertising them and that the people would not pay their contributions. He was, therefore, glad to announce to them that the crore would be made up. If the sum had been collected in small contributions, he would then say that the men of Bandra were fit for *swaraj*. He did not mind at all if the rich people of Bandra had not paid anything. They would be able to pay hereafter. He was not even pained when Mr. Patel had informed him that Bandra would be able to collect only Rs. 10,000. While he congratulated them on collecting the sum, he could not congratulate them on the total number of members of Congress they had been able to register and also on the number of *charkhas* they used. He did not so much care for the crore of rupees, but he did care about the crore of members for the Congress. When he was speaking to a friend about the money he required and was telling him that he would not be satisfied with one crore of rupees but that he required many crores of rupees, his friend told him that even the Victoria Memorial Fund had amounted to about Rs. 52 lakhs and that fund was gathered through the influence of officials by means of "pressure and persuasion". The Tilak Fund had been collected without any pressure and only by means of voluntary contributions. How much greater was their effort then in collecting the amount?

They had fulfilled the Bezwada programme; But now they had to collect the members for the Congress and they should also introduce the requisite number of *charkhas* into every house. They had six crores of families in this land and in every house there must be a *charkha*. He would not be satisfied with the number of *charkhas* alone, or the amount of yarn spun by them. He wanted something more than that. He wanted the sign of the *charkha* on their bodies, that was to say, they should wear *khaddar*. If they used *khaddar*, then it was a positive proof that they were using the *charkha*. They were living under a delusion for so many years and hence they were using foreign cloth. If they wanted *swaraj* they must make use of *khaddar* only. Indians must use only swadeshi cloth. and they must use *khaddar* for every purpose in life. Lokamanya Tilak once told a friend of his that, even if their country was full of disease and malaria, they were not going to go out of India to England and there try for *swaraj*. India was their motherland and however bad the climate might be, they had to remain there and they must die there. Unless they were able to do that they would never be happy in this land. If they loved India, if they revered Tilak, who had said that *swaraj* was their birthright, then let Indians give up the use of foreign clothes. Only the day before, a Parsi lady had sent to him her foreign ornaments worth about a thousand rupees; he had not seen her and he did not even know her name. Why

should Indians wear foreign-made ornaments? Were all Indian goldsmiths dead? So long as there were Indian goldsmiths who were not getting enough work, why should they wear foreign-made ornaments? He was sure that the Parsi sister who had given him her ornament, was now wearing khaddar, or if she had not done so already, would do so soon. He appealed to them to use *shuddha swadeshi*. He was not appealing for money, for money could be collected anyhow. But the first thing he would ask of them was to give up use of foreign cloth. After September he was not going to speak of these things. After September, he was going to ask his Muslim friends to use only *swadeshi* cloth if they wanted to get the Khila-fat question decided as they wished. Every one of them men and women must use the *charkhu* and from today they must make up their minds to use only *swadeshi* cloth. A new epoch had arrived in their activities, and if they use *swadeshi* cloth their strength would increase manifold.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*. 2nd July 1921,
CWMG. Vol. XX P. 312]

SPEECH AT BORIVLI MEETING¹.

June 30, 1921

Mr. Gandhi said Thursday was the last and the greatest day and India was on her trial and he hoped they would not be found wanting. Time was very valuable and he was not going to make a long speech. They had to collect the one crore on that day and they should not fail in their duty. He did not know how he would succeed in collecting the amount, but he had the greatest faith in the capacity and patriotism of Indians and he felt sure in his heart of hearts that they would succeed in collecting the necessary amount. He did not know how much money was collected in Bombay for he had been to Ahmedabad. He did not also know how much was collected in Gujarat which had undertaken to collect Rs. 10 lakhs, although they had actually collected as much as Rs. 12 lakhs and they had every hope of getting Rs. 15 lakhs. On his way from Ahmedabad some gentlemen had handed him a cheque for one lakh and announced the gift of a piece of very valuable land near Bombay. At the door of the pandal he had been given a cheque for Rs. 25,000. From Johannesburg he had received a remittance for Rs. 9,000 and from the Khatri community Rs. 1,000.

He had great hopes that the people of Bombay would give him the necessary amount, for the great burden of collecting the Fund rested on Bombay. When he had left Bombay, they had collected about 15 or 20 lakhs of rupees and he had high hopes that India, which was being tried new, would not be found wanting. He had only heard there that there was a large number of rich merchants in Borivli and he prayed to God that they would help the Fund in a liberal spirit.

In Ahmedabad and in Bombay he had heard that the *Vaishnavas* had still great doubts about the movement and he had already written a letter² to them which he hoped they would all read. At the present time India, wanted all communities to unite together in one great effort to win *swaraj*;

¹The public of Borivli presented a purse to Gandhiji on Thursday morning for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. There was a large gathering of men and women. V. J. Patel, the Ali Brothers and Sarojini Naidu were among those present.

² *Vide* "To Vaishnavas" 3rd July 1921.

that did not mean, however, that they should give up their different religions. As long as the world existed, there would always be diversity and differences of opinion and there would be different religions. But they should be united in their efforts to obtain *swaraj*. They would however never be able to win *swaraj* by keeping down the lower classes. To put them down, to look down upon them, to hate them, to abuse them, to give them no access to their wells, to exclude them from their villages, was certainly not *vaisihnavism*. There was a godless religion and *vaishnavism* was something quite different. Vallabhacharya¹ had never taught his disciples to follow a religion of hate and intolerance. His teachings were to the effect that they should lift up the depressed classes, the people who were steeped in ignorance and poverty. Vallabhacharya had not told them to keep down their brethren. The more he thought about these matters the more firmly he believed that the *vaishnavas* were wrong in the attitude they had adopted in regard to this as question.

He was telling this to them as a man of the world, as an old man, as a man who had much experience of these things. He knew from his South African experiences what it was to be a man of the depressed classes. He was treated as a man belonging to the depressed classes in South Africa; because he had to live apart from the white people in a place called the "location" which was really a *dhedwada* (a place where the weepers lived), where there were no sanitary arrangements or lights or roads or any other amenities of civilized town. There he knew what it was to be an *Antyaji* and he had suffered from those things there under which his brethren were now groaning in India. If they could not treat their brethren with consideration, what was the use of their being Indians. and what was the use of their being born in this land?

On account of the cruelties and humiliations which they had suffered at the hands of Englishmen, they had called their Government Satanic and they had decided not to co-operate with them and, were they, Indians. going to treat their brethren in the same manner as the whites were treating them? Was it not worthwhile to take stock of what they were doing? Was it not worthwhile to pause and consider what they were doing? He had not asked the *Vaishnavas* to take food at the hands of the depressed classes, but merely to treat them as their brothers. If they could all be united in their resolve, they could have *swaraj* at that very moment, but they had so many different castes. If Hindus thought that the Muslims were their born enemies, and they should make it their duty to hate them as such, they would never get *swaraj*. Indians were loath to abolish the bar of untouchability out of sheer fear, and he would tell them on the last day of June, a day of high resolve and much import, that it was this fear which had forced them to keep down their brethren and to lead a life apart from theirs. Unless their hearts were full of mercy, of pity for the poor, of love for their brethren, Indians would never be fit for *swaraj*. He had not much fear for the crore of rupees and he did not mind it so much, because anyhow they would be able to collect that amount. But what he wanted them to do was to love their depressed brethren. The *swaraj* which he wanted was not to be one founded on hate and fear; his was *swaraj* of the righteous. His was *dharmarajya*.

From tomorrow they would not hear him talking and begging for money. They would hear something quite different. They would have to give up dealing in all foreign things from the next day. Those who dealt

¹A fifteenth century philosopher.

in foreign cloth have to cease doing that. Those who were trading in English cloth must stop doing that and he appealed to his sisters to give up the use of foreign clothes and to use only khaddar. If they wanted to do their duty to their country they should discard the foreign clothes and take to *khaddar*. If his sisters and daughters loved him and had any respect for him, he appealed to them to give up their foreign clothes and make up their minds once and for all to give up all these luxuries for ever. In this instance he would tell them a personal incident. Only the other day his wife had told him that she was unable to cook his food and do the household work in the thick *khaddar* cloth she was wearing and she wanted his permission to wear something lighter, something thinner. While he gave full liberty to his wife in all things, as he had full liberty to do what he liked, he was naturally unwilling to tell her to do anything. But he had to tell his wife that, if she could not cook his food in *khaddar*, then she had better not cook at all for him, for he would not take anything cooked by her while using unholy foreign things. He would not touch anything which was cooked by his wife while wearing foreign clothes. If Indian women were not willing to make this much sacrifice, were not willing to have this much suffering, then they would have to suffer more Jallianwala Baghs. There was much more suffering in store for them than that which they had to put up with on this last day of the month, to give proper heed to his words (sic). He earnestly appealed to all Hindus and Muslims to give up using foreign things and to use only those things which were made in this country.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 1st July 1921.

CWMG Vol. XX P. 304]

SPEECH AT PARSI MEETING, BOMBAY¹

June 30, 1921

Mr. Gandhi in the course of his lengthy speech asked the audience to allow him to speak without interruptions or cheers. He had never said that the Parsis did not know him thoroughly, and that they were not with him. Since he was a young boy he knew the Parsis, and the Parsis knew him. His best and most intimate friends were Parsis, and his relations with the community were of the most intimate kind. Dadabhai was like his father or rather, grandfather, and if they ever got *swaraj* it would be due to the efforts of Dadabhai and the splendid work he had done for this country. He it was who had taught him the lesson of *swaraj* when he was a young man. When he went to England taking with him a deputation from South Africa, he was acting and saying what Dadabhai Naoroji and Mehta² were telling him. He had never thought that the Parsis were against him, and he had every hope that they would join him in this movement. He was not at all sorry that they had their own doubts in their minds. It was only the Parsis who had lived among thirty crores of Indians for so many hundreds of years and still they had asserted themselves and become prominent in the affairs of this country. He was not going to flatter them, and he had no such intention. He was telling them what he really felt in his mind.

¹The Parsis met at the Excelsior Theatre to present Gandhiji with a purse of Rs. 30,001 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Those present at the meeting included V. J. Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Mr. and Mrs. Marmaduke Pickthall, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew.

²Pheroze Shah Mehta.

There were many communities in this world who had such small numbers as the Parsis had, but they were not known outside their own countries, to the whole world. But what part was there in the whole world where the Parsi community was not known, although their number was only 80,000? If Bombay was beautiful, if Bombay was noted for its generosity, if Bombay was noted for its public spirit, it was due to the Parsi community. If it were not for the Parsis, Bombay would be like any other city in India, and the whole of India was thankful to the Parsis for this. If anybody had given any lead to Indians in Politics it was the Parsis, and he would ask his Hindu and Muslim friends not to blame the Parsis in any way. If all the communities were united among themselves, they could have *swaraj* that very moment. He for one was proud that the Parsis came to this country instead of going to any other country, and he was also glad that they were given shelter in Gujarat, to which province they had rendered very valuable services.

When in South Africa the whites had besieged his house in the dead of night and wanted to kill him, it was Parsi Rustomji who had protected him at the risk of his life and at the risk of his own and that of his people and stood by him. As long as he lived he could never forget what Mr. Rustomji had done for him. The Parsis were full of virtue, truth and honesty, and he was proud of them as a race. Even if the Parsis had not collected Rs. 30,000 and had only given him Rs. 5, he would still have been satisfied with them. Mr. Godrej had already handed him a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs and he had shown to the whole of India what the Parsis were capable of doing. The Parsi community had given him liberally in many ways, and it was not a fact that by coming to India they had not done any service to this country. His opinion was that they had paid their debt fully to this country. Naturally they were a commercial people and it was pity they had taken up Government appointments lately. It was a loss to the whole of India and not to the Parsi community alone. But the education which they had got had made them seek Government employment, and it was a great pity. Commerce had taught them to be honest and collect money and do good to other communities in this country, and he asked them to take stock of the present conditions and their future. They had fully paid their debts to the country by producing such great men as Dada-bhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Jamshedji Tata. He appealed to the Parsis to take part in the *swaraj* movement which was now going on in full swing. The Parsis were able to compete with other communities in every departments of life. If they had done so much in this country in the past, why were they keeping themselves aloof from the movement now? They were a rich community, possessing crores of rupees, and why had not they given any more money to the Fund? Dadabhai had served India by leading the life of a political recluse for the purpose of making India free, not for Parsis alone, but for all communities and races. The speaker was going to speak to them as their friend because he was a great admirer of theirs and was very intimate with them for a long time.

Continuing, the Mahatma said, if the Parsis wished it, they could easily accomplish anything, because they were a small, compact community of eighty thousand, but that was not so with the Hindus and Muslims. If they could remain independent even before the English came, he did not know why they could not be so when they got *swaraj*. It was the first duty of Hindus and Muslims to protect the smaller communities in this land. If the Hindus and Muslims were true to themselves, they would see that not a Parsi was starving before they took any morsel of food. If

Hindus or Muslims wished to do anything else, then they were working not for a *Dharmarajya*. He wanted to make India not Satanic, but he wanted to establish *Dharmarajya*. He wanted to make the Parsis fearless and drive away their doubts and he wanted them to devote their energies for the welfare of this country. If they could do so, they could get *swaraj* this year, and they could also right the Khilafat wrong and also those of the Punjab. If they wanted rule over the world just as the British were doing, then he would say that Indians were not fit for it, and he prayed to God never to make them fit for it. Did Indians want to make slaves of Negroes, or make them prisoners, or make them work for ourselves and to keep them as beggars? He wanted them to be free by purifying themselves and then rid the whole world of all its evils.

He appealed to the Parsis to become *swarajists* that very moment. They were *swarajists*, but they had some doubt in their minds but he begged of them to become true *swarajists*. He asked them to consider these questions properly and ask themselves whether Gandhi was a fool to speak of these things. The *swaraj* that India was going to have was a *Dharmarajya*. Indians wanted to establish *swaraj* based on truth and not on falsehood, and they wanted to keep clear of everything that was false. It was the Parsi religion which had taught him to non-co-operate with Satan; it had taught him to keep apart from Satan, from all evil. He did not hate Englishmen, neither did he want them to be driven out of this country, but he disliked being what Lord Reading called the subjects of Englishmen. His soul trembled to consider of these things. They should have strength enough to resist any evil. It was not necessary for them to have revolvers or to become barristers or lawyers for the winning of *swaraj*. What was essential was the belief in self, and he regretted that the Parsis were so full of doubts. He begged of them to drive away all these doubts. He appealed to them to become *swarajists* and to unite with other communities in the cause of freedom.

Mr. Gandhi then referred to the liquor shops. He said there was great responsibility on the shoulders of the Parsis in Bombay. There were about nine hundred country liquor shops in the town and the majority of them were owned by the Parsis. Many Parsis had approached him and told him that they had already given a year's purchase price to Government and that if their shops were picketed they would be ruined and they would lose all their money. He had considered over these things, and he felt very sorry for the shop-keepers. He was not sorry at all for the Parsis if they were co-operating with Government or if they had not given up their titles. But the liquor shops were a more serious matter. He was sorry that Hindus and Mohammedans were the only pickets. He wished his Parsi brothers and sisters would also picket. He wanted no force to be used because he did not wish any objectionable methods in (the achievement of) the holy object they had. When Parsi women stood in the path of Parsis going to these drink shops they would be ashamed to enter the shops and they would be ashamed to abuse them and they would not beat them. He asked the Parsis to give up drink, and to help their people who had to shut up their shops on account of picketing. He asked them to help the shop-keepers to get a refund of their (licence) fees from the Government and to help them in every possible way. In Ahmedabad, a Parsi contractor complained to him that he had been assaulted by, the pickets and he found this statement on investigation to be false. It was the volunteers on the other hand who had been assaulted, and they were now picketing with their heads bandaged and they had not raised their hands to retaliate.

He earnestly appealed to his Parsi brothers and sisters to help the efforts of the other communities to stop drink. He did not think that the Parsi millionaires who had not attended the meeting were against his movement, and he appealed to them to help the Parsi liquor contractors in all ways. In the meantime he asked them to help the cause of *swaraj*. He prayed to God that he would give the Parsi community strength to take legitimate part in the struggle which was now going on for the winning of *swaraj* and make them realize what their duty was at this juncture.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 1st July 1921
CWMG Vol. XX, P. 307]

Pages 969-72, Para 522(A, B, C.)

Bombay City, July 7th.—Having collected a crore of rupees more or less for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, M. K. Gandhi has now suggested a complete boycott of foreign cloth before the 1st August 1921, the anniversary day of Tilak's demise.

He published his intention to boycott foreign cloth in the issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 2nd July 1921, extract appended "A". His instructions as to how to boycott foreign goods are contained in the *Bombay Chronicle* dated 4th July 1921 extract appended "B".

He was to go to Madras on the 4th instant and had reserved a compartment for the purpose, but he cancelled that arrangement as he now considers it necessary to remain in Bombay to control the boycott campaign. He has also suggested that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which, according to one of the resolutions of the Working Committee, held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th ultimo, was to be held in Lucknow on the 22nd instant, should be held in Bombay, the reason being that he does not want to leave Bombay during the month for even that short period.

He has been calling the important piece-goods merchants to his house and endeavouring to persuade them to sign a declaration that they would not import foreign piece goods hence-forth and that whatever stock they might have on hand, would be disposed of outside India. He has addressed an open letter to the cloth merchants in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 7th July 1921, extract appended, "C".

So far only the under mentioned merchants have signed the undertaking not to import foreign piece goods:—

- (1) Narandas Purshotamdas,
- (2) Narotam Bhanji,
- (3) Raghavji Purshotam,
- (4) Naranji Dayal,
- (5) Dwarkadas Govardhandas.
- (6) Mansukhlal Oghadbhai.

Gandhi has called a meeting of the piece-good merchants of the Moolji Jetha Market at 3 P.M. on Friday, the 8th instant, when he intends to advise the boycott of foreign goods. He has also suggested that his friends, followers and well-wishers should burn their foreign clothes on the 1st August at *Chowpatty*, where Tilak was cremated, Vithaldas Vasani Jai-rajani suggested that instead of burning the clothes they should give them to the poor; but Gandhi did not approve of this.

Gandhi's intention is to picket the cloth shops if all the foreign piece-goods merchants do not voluntarily undertake not to import or sell foreign cloth. He proposes to use Dheds and Bhangis as picketers, if and when necessary, in the expectation that no decent Hindu will use violence to the picketers through fear of defiling themselves.

At present the quantity of piece-goods in Bombay and in the Docks is estimated to be worth between 8 to 10 crores of rupees.

"A"

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 2nd July 1921

What we must do now.

Boycott Foreign Cloth.

By August 1st.

(By MAHATMA GANDHI).

God is great. He sends help from unexpected quarters. It was but a few days ago that Mr. Das telegraphed saying Bengal had collected no more than three lakhs. It was no small thing for me to announce that India had not given the full crore on the due date. I struggle with friends for getting the deficit under written. They were ready to give it to me but they would not disclose their names to the world as in their opinion it looked like seeking notoriety. They thought that it was better to leave the figure where it was and try to collect the balance before the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. I capitulated but I was sore at heart that God had not answered my prayer. And yet I knew Him to be an unfailing God. He sent Bengal to the rescue and ratified the nation's undertaking at Bez-wada. Let us be humble and praise him. But he dare not tarry on the road to make merry. We must march forward. Each Province should at least make up its numerical proportion of the crore, although the total collection amounts now to one crore and five lakhs.

But our next inevitable step is to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth. On the first of August we celebrate the anniversary of Lokmanya's death. We can, if we make a definite special effort, bring about an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth before that date. I know it requires the consensus of an overwhelming majority. But it is not impossible to reach it if we would work with the same zeal as we have for the collections. Then and not till then will India have attained the power to establish, *Swaraj*. I cannot conceive any better celebration of the anniversary of Lokamanya's death than a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

"B"

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 4th July 1921.

How to boycott foreign goods.

M. K. GANDHI.

It is needless to say at this time of the day that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive process, but is as necessary for national existence as breath is to life. The quicker therefore it can be brought about the better for the country. Without it *Swaraj* cannot be established or retained after establishment. It is of the highest importance to know how it can be brought about even before the first day of August next.

To arrive at the boycott quickly it is necessary for (1) the mill-owners to regularise their profits and to manufacture principally for the Indian market, (2) For importers to cease to buy foreign goods a beginning has already been made by three principal merchants, (3) For the consumers to refuse to buy any foreign cloth and to buy *khadi* wherever possible, For the consumers to wear only *khadi* cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between *swadeshi*, *pardeshi*, For consumers to use, till *swaraj* is established and *khadi* manufacture increased, *khadi* just enough for covering the body. (6) For the consumers to destroy *pardeshi* cloth as they would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence or to sell it for use abroad or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours.

It is to be hoped that all the parties referred to in the foregoing clauses will respond well and simultaneously. But in the end success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumer. He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery.

"C"

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 7th July 1921.

The Cloth Merchants.

Gentlemen,

Yesterday I invited the millowners to help the foreign cloth boycott movement. They may or may not help. I shall hope that they will. But you cannot possibly keep yourselves from it. Because the majority of you are even convinced non-co-operators. You have made possible the fulfilment of the Bezwada promise regarding the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. But you will say that whilst payment was a small matter to you, your trade is a matter of life and death. It is just this hallucination that is keeping to you, is the country's goodness? *Swaraj* means that you and I put *swaraj* away from us. If your trade is a matter of life and death our country's trade before ours. The appeal to you to refrain from importing foreign cloth is in other words an appeal to subordinate your individual gain to the country's.

For every yard you import from England or Japan or America, you take away from the mouth of a fellow countryman at least three annas without giving him anything in return. Let me explain. India has enough labour lying idle in her villages. Formerly this was utilised for manufacturing yarn and cloth. Foreign imports made them compulsorily idle. And for these long long years the vast majority have found no other occupation. Hence every drought sends a shiver through every pitying heart in India. It need not be so. A drought is not an unusual Indian phenomenon. We feel its deadly effects, because we are living on the margin of starvation. By prolonged idleness, we have lost the power of sustenance. Do not imagine that these cottagers can all flock to our dozen cities where labour is scarce and find a living. They are burdened with land which they dare not leave even if they would. And not all the cities of India can help her millions. Nothing but the restoration of hand-spinning and hand-weaving can possibly bring back lustre to the Indian eye. And I would be false to you and to India, if I do not tell you that the merchants more than the millowners are responsible for India's deep and distressing poverty. The millowners aggravate it no doubt, when they charge heavy prices. But you are so responsible that if you stop the importation of foreign cloth, you can revive the ancient and honourable *Dharma* (duty) of hand-spinning and give an impetus to the industry of hand-weaving.

Why, after all, should the abandonment of a trade that harms India be a matter of life and death to many of you? Surely you are resourceful enough to find some other trade beneficial alike to you and the country. The stopping of imports means a saving of sixty crores per year. But it means operation on a much larger Capital. It means that all the processes on cotton will be gone through in India. That means business for you. It means a healthy circulation of money as to-day it is a progressively exhausting drain of money from our dear country. I ask you to disengage your great talents from an unhealthy channel and direct them into the healthy channels that open out to you. You must organise hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Then, you will not be satisfied with coarse khadi as I am. You will insist on your spinning the finest counts and weavers weaving the world-famed Dacca muslin. You will sink fortunes in it whereas I have only paid our sisters the few thousands you have given me as a charity. For you to leave the unholy trade in foreign cloth is to organise the production and distribution of home-spun. It is an enterprise worthy of your patriotism. You whisper to me that such organisation may take a few years. You have not built up your present trade in a moment. If you are satisfied, that it is a trade that has impoverished and enslaved India, you will not stop to think of the consequences of its destruction. You will let it go at any cost.

And what is the cost? Not much. You have to stop all further orders for foreign cloth or yarn. That costs nothing. You have a stock of foreign cloth to get rid of. The world's market is open to you for its disposal. There are many uses to which the Indians specialities can be put in say Mauritius, South Africa or East Africa. You will but let me think out for you the best method of disposing of the stock of foreign cloth and yarn you have.

Some of you have developed an anxiety for the requirements of the consumer. He will accommodate himself to the shortage, feel none the worse for it and will be better able to appreciate next year the plenty of beautiful *khadi* or every variety of width and thinness.

I ask you not to put an undue strain upon the consumer. It is not right for you to put temptations in his or her way in the shape of flimsy Japanese dhotis or saris or starchy Calico. I urge you rather to cultivate in the consumer the taste to see art in *khadi*. Evenness, even softness, is not necessarily an art. The most exquisitely made rose flower from silks has not art in it. For it has no life. But the real flower from the garden with most petals gone is any day infinitely superior to the finished artificial product in a dressed window. The former is instinct with life. Would that the merchants of India ceasing to be mercenary, will study the ancient art and make it their *business* to revive it. There is money in it for you and the country. The greatest art to be revived is *swaraj*. There is no *swaraj* without *swadeshi*. And *swadeshi* means for India a permanent boycott of foreign cloth. I invite you to lead the way. For you have the ability. May God grant you the strength and wisdom to lead.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. Gandhi.

Page 977, Para 553(11),

Bombay City July 4th.—Information has been received that recent developments in the picketing movement have caused anxiety to the leaders. Apparently very little discrimination was exercised in the enrolment of volunteers with the natural result that hooligans and irresponsible people of various sorts found their way into the ranks. This became manifest from the behaviour of certain of the volunteers and particularly from the evidence recorded in some of the cases sent up by the police. In consequence Gandhi's advice was sought and he suggested that in future only volunteers of good character should be enrolled who could be relied on to adhere to the doctrine of non-violence; he also said no payment of any sort should be made to the volunteers and if any of them happened to be convicted in the course of their duty, they should go to jail instead of paying fines. The Provincial Congress Committee have now formed a Vigilance Committee consisting of the following persons: —

V. A. Desai, President.
A. H. S. Khatri.
K. B. Sanzgiri.

L. T. Patankar.
V. V. Jairajani,
B. N. Meisheri.

They intend to weed out the undesirable among the volunteers, and to exercise greater vigilance in future in recruiting.

There is however a difference of opinion among the leaders whether the picketing campaign is really an effective way of dealing with the drink evil. Gandhi himself is said to be opposed to the movement, and to have advised its abandonment; he is dissatisfied with the way the movement has been managed up to date and foresees that if it is continued on those lines it is very likely to lead to violence; some others also are in favour of a temperance campaign among the drinking classes as being more likely to effect radical improvement than the system of picketing. The matter was considered in all its bearings in a meeting a day or two ago and no definite agreement was reached and it is understood that it will come up for further discussion in a few days' time. It is just possible that picketing may be abandoned at this meeting.

Page 978, Para 555.

Poona, July 5th.—Below copy of telegram, dated the 28th June, from Gandhi, Bombay, to Pandit Malaviya, Simla:—

"Never intended apology Government. If I had would have stated clearly. Wrote Viceroy last week for publication agreed account interview or absolution from confidence. "

Page 1016, Para 583.

Bombay City, July 11th.—Gandhi is now concentrating all his energies on the boycott of foreign cloth. He had arranged to go down to Madras at the beginning of the month but at the last moment he cancelled this arrangement; he decided not to go to Karachi during the Khilafat Conference and he has now arranged that the All-India Congress Committee meeting which was fixed to take place in Lucknow on the 22nd should be held in Bombay; he feels he cannot afford to be absent from Bombay even for a day. Since the second of this month, he has been publishing almost daily appeals in

the *Chronicle* to the mill-owners, the merchants and the consumers, and in public and in private he is using all his powers of persuasion to make his movement a success.

On the 8th instant he met the members of the Native piece Goods Merchants' Association at the Mulji Jetha Market Hall. He advised them to boycott foreign cloth and to popularise *khaddar*. He was asked what was to be done with the stocks in hand; he said they could be sold in South Africa, Mauritius and other places outside India; he was also asked what guarantee there was that merchants who signed an undertaking not to sell foreign cloth would not continue to sell it under another name; his reply was that he had absolute faith in the honour of the signatories. In regard to the fear expressed in some quarters that the immediate result of the boycott of foreign cloth would be that the Indian Mills would raise their prices, he said that this would not happen and he already had a promise from Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad that his mills in any case would not increase their prices.

The merchants however, in spite of all arguments, were in no hurry to make pledges and only one named Ranchoddas gave a written undertaking at the meeting.

On the same day he addressed a meeting of Commission Agents including representatives from the Hindustani Native Merchants' Association, the Shroff Mahajan Association, the Bombay Commission Agents Association, the Lingayat Commission Agents and the Memon Commission Agents. About 400 were present. The meeting was held in the hall of the Hindustani Native Merchants' Association in Kalbadevi Road. Admission was restricted to ticket-holders only. Gandhi explained to them that it was not enough to collect money, but the attainment of *swaraj* entailed much self-sacrifice and the sacrifice that they would be called upon to make was the boycott of foreign cloth. Manjilal, the President of the Hindustani Merchants' Association, explained some of the difficulties that both the agents and the merchants had to face but Gandhi said that all these difficulties would disappear in time and the demand for *khaddar* would soon give them all the business they wanted.

In reply to his advice to sign declarations that they would not import foreign cloth, about eight signed.

On the 10th he addressed a meeting of the staff and members of the Drugs Merchants' Association. There were about 400 present. Chunilal Dahyabhai was the only prominent drug merchant present. The meeting was convened by the servants and mehtas of the merchants and the men of standing in the trade did not attend. Gandhi addressed them on the boycott of cloth as consumers; he pointed out that even if merchants and mill-owners turned down his scheme, it was still in the power of the consumers to force them to adopt it. At the end of his discourse he called for a show of hands of those who were in favour of the boycott; about a fourth of them raised their hands. Gandhi complimented the majority on their courage in refusing to show their hands, but hoped that when they had carefully considered the whole question they would change their minds.

Page 1018, Para 583 [continued].

Bombay, July 14th.—Jamnalal Bajaj of Wardha, who is in Bombay, is trying to induce Marwadi Cloth Merchants and Commission Agents to sign

a vow not to deal in foreign cloth. I attach translation of a copy of the vow which is as follows:—

"Shri Hari"

Pratignyapatra (Vow Paper).

We, the undersigned, take a vow that —

(1) We from today shall never deal in foreign-made cloth or cloth made up in foreign yarn.

(2) We shall only deal in hand-woven and hand-spun cloth.

Signatures

Date

.....

.....

Gandhi has also authorised a *swadeshi* vow to be taken by every male and female of 21 years of age. I attach a translation of a copy of that vow.

"Bande Mataram"

Swadeshi Vrat (vow).

I, the undersigned, according to my conscience, and in the name of God, pledge myself to observe one of the three following vows from the 1st of August 1921, Samvat 1977, Ashad Vad 12th Monday:—

(1) I shall wear pure *swadeshi* clothes.

(2) I shall use hand-woven clothes made out of mills made yarn.

(3) I shall use clothes spun and woven in the mills of India "

The different *swadeshi sabhas* of the Bombay Presidency have been instructed to take people's signatures.

Page 1023, Para 584.

Bombay City, July 11th.—This morning (Tuesday) 11th July Gandhi met the liquor shop-keepers at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, Sandhurst Road. There were about 800 present, mainly Bombay liquor shop-keepers and their friends, though some shop-keepers from the mofussil had also come down for the meeting. At the outset Gandhi addressed them explaining to them the evil effects of the drink traffic not only on the consumers but on the shop-keepers themselves; he quoted from Hindu mythology in support of his arguments; he described the trade as mean and despicable one on which a refined and respectable community like the Parsis should abhor; he himself was in favour of the postponement of picketing for two reasons, viz., firstly, because the organisation for dealing with picketing was not complete and consequently *badmashas* were found among the ranks of the volunteers, and, secondly, because he was so engrossed in the question of the boycott of foreign cloth that he had not sufficient time to devote to the picketing of liquor shops; its continuance or discontinuance was not however in his hands but in the hands of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee who were going to meet and discuss the questions this evening.

Gandhi's diatribes against the liquor trade profession excited great dissatisfaction among the shop-keepers.

When he had finished his address, several of the shop-keepers put questions to him. One pointed out that picketing was resorted to without any wearing and after the shop-keepers had paid their licence fees; another complained that all the picketers were *badmashas* and that their foul language would disgrace any movement; another reminded him that

during the last mill strike when most of the liquor shops were closed, customers went as far even as Bandra to get their drink and that people were not going to be coerced into total abstention; others pointed out that many of them were not well-to-do and it was gross injustice to deprive them of their means of livelihood in this arbitrary way.

Gandhi said their complaints, boiled down, resolved themselves into a question of money, and he wanted to know whether they would be willing to close their shops if they were refunded their licence fees; some said they would be willing if they could be quite sure that some other licencees would not snap up the business; Gandhi suggested that they should give him a declaration to that effect in writing and he would take up the matter in the Press. Nobody however came forward in favour of this suggestion.

He also referred to recent events in Dharwar; his information was that the people were not at fault but that the Collector's harsh measures had led to the outbreak, it was not fault of the picketers; if Mr. Painter had been at Ahmedabad instead of at Dharwar, he would have learnt how many score made a hundred; no injury of course would have been done to Mr. Painter in Ahmedabad but he would have learnt his place,

SPEECH AT MEETING OF LIQUOR CONTRACTORS BOMBAY¹

July 21, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said, since he had returned to Bombay, he realized the position of liquor contractors and he had been thinking what he should advise the Provincial Congress Committee and also the liquor merchants. He had been thinking deeply over these things and he felt much for the liquor merchants who were earning their livelihood by means of selling liquor to the people. Mr. B. F. Bharucha had supplied him with facts and figures in this regard and many Parsi brethren had also written to him both anonymously and in their own names; he knew from all these what the actual position in the city was with regard to the trade. He wished to tell them that, even if there were only a dozen or so bad men among the small Parsi community of 80,000, they would hurt it while, even if there were five or seven lakhs among the Hindus and Muslims they would not be so glaringly prominent. That was always the case in this world. So, while the few Parsi liquor shop-keepers had come into notoriety, others were forgotten; the example of the Parsi liquor-dealers was very prominent before the country. At the Excelsior Theatre he had told his Parsi friends that they would be able to set an example to the whole country by their noble conduct. Therefore, he was deeply sorry that so many people among the Parsi were earning their livelihood by selling liquor to the public and he thought it was a great discredit to them.. He was also sorry that so many widows had to maintain themselves by selling liquor. In his opinion it was better for these women to break stones or even beg their food than to sell liquor to the people.

If he had the means of a Petit or a Tata, he would have fallen at the feet of these Parsi widows and begged of them to give up this trade and take as much money as they liked. He would have been too glad to look after them. If he had any money at his disposal the first use he would make of it would be to offer it to his Parsi sisters and brothers and ask

¹ Under the auspices of the Parsi Rajakiya Sabha, Gandhiji addressed the liquor traders of Bombay at the Marwari Vidyalaya Hall on Tuesday morning, 11th July 1921.

them to give up this liquor trade. Some of his Parsi friends had told him that they could not give up their daily glass of liquor; some had told him that the Parsi religion prohibited drinking, while others had told him that the Parsi religion permitted them to drink liquor. His heart, however, was full of sorrow for his Parsi sisters whether their religion permitted drinking or not. If the position of liquor-selling continued long, it was enough to destroy a small community like theirs.

His Parsi friends must have heard of Shri Krishna and his prophecy in regard to the Yadavas, who numbered lakhs and even more, Shri Krishna had told them that if they drank and committed adultery, the whole tribe would disappear for ever from the face of the earth. And what was there left now of the powerful Yadavas? Was not adultery a handy companion of drink? He knew from his experience in South Africa what sort of people these liquor sellers and buyers were. Those who sold liquor had to descend to the level of the drunkards and then be on the same level of mentality. He had much experience of these things and he was only telling them what he had actually seen all over the country. He was also of opinion that those who sold liquor could not be honest. He was not only addressing his Parsi brethren, but also Bhandaris who had written to him that they were ruined and that they would give up the trade gradually in about 20 or 25 years. Was it possible for this country to wait till then? What did it avail to the country for a thief or an adulterer to say that he would give up his vice in a few days? If the Parsis did not give up this traffic at once, they would injure their community and their country. They must not take into consideration the apparent prosperity which they had gained by following the liquor trade. He would appeal to his Parsi friends to look after the Parsi widows whatever it might cost them, or however great sacrifice it might entail. It was better for them to do any honest thing than get rich at the expense of the vast majority of the people.

As for picketing, he never thought it could be permanently stopped. He had horror of bloodshed, but he was prepared to take every risk in order that the drink evil could be arrested. So long as the pickets did not do violence, he was indifferent to what the Government did. He knew what had happened in Dharwar. He was sure the people had not erred as at Malegaon. He was shocked to hear that Mr. Painter was to be sent to Ahmedabad—a Collector who was guilty apparently of having connived at the murder of innocent men. Mr. Painter, if he dared go to Ahmedabad, would find his hands full. He would have to murder in Ahmedabad innocent boys and girls in order to stop picketing. It was an insult to the people of Gujarat to send an official like Mr. Painter to Gujarat.

Mr. Gandhi then gave his experiences in Durban about picketing when boys of 14 or 15 did their duty without fear or favour, in spite of the tremendous odds against them. Not a single soul was allowed to go unchallenged to the registration office to register himself. Never was any violence used by these young men.

He was for wholesale picketing all over the country; he was aware, however, of the defects which now existed in the system. He knew that bad men had got in as pickets. He had therefore suggested that picketing in Bombay only might be suspended till the end of the month, so that it might be better organized and cover the whole of Bombay. Moreover, all hands were required for organizing boycott of foreign cloth by the 1st of August. But the final decision rested with the Congress Committee. He was not

the autocrat that he was made out to be by the *Praja Mitra*. It was not possible for him to order the 32 crores of people what they should do, he could only give advice and guidance. In the meantime, it was for the liquor merchants to look about and consider what they should do, whether they could not take up any other profession and give up this selling of liquor. The Dharwar incident had tainted the liquor they sold with innocent blood. He was convinced that the pickets in Dharwar had not done anything; they had not assaulted anybody; that the charges which were brought against them were unfounded and he was firmly convinced that the police were in connivance with the liquor contractors, he laid the responsibility as much on the officials.

He expected greater things from the Parsi community on account of their nobility, their knowledge and their courage. They know what an insolent Collector had done there in Dharwar. He was sure that picketing would achieve the object he had in view, but if possible he wanted it to be done without doing that. The contractors would tell him that they had already paid the Government for their licences. What they had given to Government they could easily get back from them. If they were all determined to get back the amounts they had paid, he was sure they would succeed in their object. They could apply to Government to return the amounts they had paid, as they were not non-co-operators, and if they did not succeed, then they could resort to other measures. If India did not get *swaraj* by September or even December, let the Parsi contractors consider that the money which they had given to Government would be lying to their credit with the future Government. He would assure them they would never lose their money.

But were they, after all, such poor people that they could not afford losing the sums? Only the day before he had received a letter from a Parsi liquor-seller to say that they were not such poor people as was tried to be made out. Even the widows were not poor and they had a lot of money with them and he believed it. From his personal experience he knew that they were not poor and that they would not be thrown into the streets if they gave up selling liquor to the people. He would ask them not to be timid and be afraid of consequences, but to stand erect as bold men and women. He wanted the Parsis to be with the nation in demanding equality of status. They could no longer brook any sort of subordination. Some people had told him that some of them had been in the trade for more than 20 years and how was it possible for them to give up the business now? They must, however, consider the situation calmly and come to a definite decision on the matter. He himself had given some thought to the problem and he felt that, as they were not poor men, they could easily take up any other profession they liked. He requested them to form a committee and then consider what they should do in the matter, but never to give up hope. Let them take up other professions and trades and see whether they could not prosper as easily as in the liquor trade. But, in the first place, it was their duty to give up the liquor trade now and immediately. Unless they were prepared to sacrifice something for their country, they would never be able to defend their liberty and get *swaraj*. Only by means of sacrifice could they be fit for *swaraj* and full liberty. They must depend on their own ability and they must have confidence in themselves. Even the English nation had come to the fore by their self-confidence, and he appealed to them not to lose hope but to have faith in themselves. He would give them the wisdom to make the sacrifice demanded of them.

Mr. Gandhi then said he would answer any questions that might be put to him by the merchants.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 13th My 1921.
CWMG Vol. XX, P. 350]

Page 1056, Para 605 (3).

Bombay City, July 18th.—There have been no developments of importance in the cloth boycott movement. As far as we know Gandhi has not obtained any more written promises from merchants not to import foreign cloth.

Two meetings in support of the movement at which Gandhi and Mahomed Ali spoke were held in Bombay on the 16th and 17th instant.

In addition Gandhi addressed the Jains on the 15th at the Jain temple at Lalbag, and the hand-loom weavers of Madanpura at Yusuf Baug, Ripon Road, on the 17th.

Pages 1065-67, Para 608 (16).

Bombay City, July 20th.—Under the auspices of the *Parsi Rajkiya Sabha* a meeting of liquor contractors both Parsis and Hindu Bhandaris- was held on the 19th July 1921 at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall. About 700 people attended. Prominent among the audience were:

(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Mohamed Ali, (3) Burjorji Framji Bharucha. (4) Anandrao Narayan Survey, (5) Rustom Pestom Jehangir, a retired Assistant Collector of Abkari, and two ladies.

Gandhi said that the question of picketing did not rest with him but that it was in the hands of the Provincial Congress Committee. His advice to the Congress Committee was known to them but he would not now recommend to the Congress Committee the suspension of picketing. The petition that was intended to be sent to Government was ready and as they were not non-co-operators they could have no objection to petition Government. The contractors were perfectly justified in asking the Government for a refund of the licence fees. It was impossible for Government to close their shops forcibly, but the contractors could close the trade on receiving a refund of their money. He then referred to the tragedies at Aligarh and Dharwar and suggested that the liquor shops were responsible for the deaths of so many people. He had received a telegram from Aligarh that Sherwani of Aligarh, one of the most respectable man, but now a *fakir*, had also been arrested for pacifying the crowd. The cause of the whole trouble arose from picketing. He also received a telegram from Belgaum intimating to him that Gangadharrao Deshpande and his friends were prohibited from entering the Cantonment area for the purpose of picketing. His advice to Deshpande was that although the order was illegal he should obey it for the present to make them fit for civil disobedience. So in order to avoid all these catastrophies he desired that in the interest of the nation the shop-keepers should close their liquor shops. He was quite aware of the bad financial condition of the contractors, but it was the duty of the community to look to the interests of those people. *He then warned them that in the month of September there would be a river of blood when picketing was resumed seriously.* The picketers would rather die on the spot than abandon their duty. He felt that the shops must be closed even if there were rivers of blood on account of the picketers. He would not promise the contractors that picketing would not

begin in August. He had received letters blaming him for stopping picketing just as he was blamed for advising the Ali Brothers. He was similarly blamed for stopping the *Satyagraha movement*. It was not through weakness but through strength that he advised the Ali Brothers who could put him in their pocket if they so desired. His duty was only to advise. Similarly, he desired that the liquor shop keepers should listen to the nation's cry and prevent the evil. Personally speaking he would rather meet death in the act of picketing than from the bite of a serpent or from disease. He hoped that the contractors would do their duty to the country by closing the liquor shops.

Gandhi asked them to sign their names to the memorial to Government if they wished to do so. He did in other matters. As regards the misunderstanding caused by one of the speakers about rivers of blood in September, he said that there would be many men like Sherwani, Mohamed Ali and himself who would come forward to do the picketing and if they were arrested their places would be filled by thousands of his countrymen. If these thousands came forward to sacrifice their lives and if there was a little stone-throwing from one or two of the crowd, the result would be that the Government would shoot them and shed their blood in return for the stone throwing. He reminded the people of what happened at Dharwar and Aligarh. Some of the crowd at Dharwar threw stones and the reply was by way of *bullets*. *That was no new thing in India*. A dangerous situation was sure to arise when the people or the picketers were pressed between the Government, the contractors and the drinkers. It was therefore that he said that rivers of blood would flow in September unless their shops were closed. Finally he told the shop keepers that they were at liberty to obtain a copy of the petition from Mr. Bharucha and sign the memorial if they so wished. So saying he declared the meeting dissolved stating that he had to go to Poona that night and that he could not afford to spend more time and allow even Mohamed Ali to speak even for five minutes.

SPEECH AT MEETING OF LIQUOR CONTRACTORS, BOMBAY¹

July 19, 1921

Mr. Gandhi said he had told them on the last occasion that picketing was in the hands of the Congress Committee and that he could but advise them what they should do. They however, knew the result of his advice. Some of the contractors had already seen the petition which was intended to be sent to the Government and, as they were not non-co-operators, there was not the least objection in their doing so. If they were non-co-operators they would not have liquor shops. The contractors had a perfect right to petition the Government. It was suggested that they were servants. Even if they were, there was still nothing wrong about their asking the Government for a refund of the fees they had paid to it. It was impossible for Government forcibly to close their shops. For that they would have to pass a new law. But the contractors could do so on receiving a refund of their fees.

They knew about the Dharwar and Aligarh tragedies and he wanted to tell them that the liquor shops were most responsible for the deaths of so many people. Mr. Sherwani of Aligarh was one of the mostly well-known and respectable persons of that place; he belonged to the Muslim nobility and was a Cambridge graduate. He had received a telegram from Aligarh that Mr. Sherwani had also been arrested yesterday. Mr. Sherwani had

¹ Held under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall.

done his best to pacify the crowd; he had done his best to keep them peaceful; but he had refused to 'rub the nose'. He had kept up the spirits of the people and he was arrested. Who was responsible for all this trouble? The whole trouble began with picketing. Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande had sent him a telegram from Belgaum that he and other friends had been ordered not to picket the shops in the Cantonment there and Mr. Deshpande had asked his advice whether they should disobey this order. His advice to Mr. Deshpande was that, although the order was illegal, he must obey it and that restraint would fit them for Civil disobedience. He thought it was the duty of the liquor vendors to bow to the wishes of crores of their countrymen. By closing their shops they would benefit their country, and what was good for their country was also good for them. He knew it for a fact that some of the contractors were in a bad financial condition and it was the duty of the community to see what they could do for these people. But they must admit that, by keeping their shops open, the vendors were doing a dis-service to their country.

Mr. Gandhi warned the contractors that if nothing was done at the end of August there would be great trouble. When picketing was resumed it would be taken up seriously. The picketers would welcome imprisonment and even be shot rather than give up their adopted task. He felt that the shops must be closed even if there were rivers of blood by reason of the picketers not stopping at the Government's bidding. He could not promise the contractors that picketing would not begin afresh in the month of August, for what they had undertaken to do they must successfully accomplish, at whatever cost it might be. He had already received letters complaining that he had not done right in stopping picketing. He was blamed for giving weak advice to the Ali Brothers, he was blamed for stopping the *satyagraha* movement and now he was blamed for stopping picketing. Whatever advice he had given to the Ali Brothers it was not of weakness, but of strength, and so it was regarding *satyagraha* and picketing. He therefore, beseeched the liquor-dealers to listen to the nation's cry and prevent the impending sacrifice. He would welcome death in the act of picketing rather than from disease. And he had no doubt there were many who were prepared to do likewise.

At the end of his speech he invited the contractors to ask him any questions they liked and appealed to them to do their duty by the country at this moment.

Mr. Maneckji Baria said there was dishonesty in every profession and not among the liquor sellers only. The question before them was who was to close the shops and when? The liquor business had been going on for thousands of years and it was not possible to stop it all at once. They should close the shops gradually. There was no shame or dishonesty in any profession, if it were but followed honestly. Everybody had to look after his own interests, and even Mr. Gandhi who was the soul of *swadeshism* would not prefer a country cart, if he had to go to Colaba, but a fast foreign victoria. They could only stop drinking by inducing the people to give up the habit and by no other means. They had already applied to Government for a refund and as soon as they got it they would stop their shops. Government could only assess their losses on the total sales of the whole year and not of a part of it. He would ask Mr. Gandhi this question: he had said he would get *swaraj* by the end of September and in that case, could they not pass a law and stop the sale of liquor? From what date did Mr. Gandhi want shops to be stopped?

MR. GANDHI: From today (Laughter and cheers).

Mr. Baria said if Mr. Gandhi wanted to stop the trade from today he should be a God !

Mr. Gandhi said he wanted the thing to be done today, but the question was could he do so? He wanted many things to be done, but he might not be able to do them!

Mr. Gandhi, in replying¹, said he hoped they had made a further advance at this meeting. He asked them to sign their names in the memorial only if they wished to do so. About rivers of blood flowing in the month of September he said there would be many men like Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Mahomed Ali and himself to do picketing and if they were arrested hundreds of other people would replace them. If even those were arrested thousands of his countrymen would be forthcoming ready to sacrifice their lives and the only thing the Government could do was to shoot them and shed their blood. What had happened at Dharwar and Aligarh? Perhaps the crowd had thrown stones at Dharwar. The reply was bullets. That was the custom in India. A dangerous situation was bound to arise when the people were pressed between the Government, the contractors and the drinkers. Therefore, he had said that rivers of blood would flow in September unless the shops were closed. In the end he asked them to see Mr. Bharucha in the matter of the memorial and consult him.

[*The Bombay Chronicle* dated 20th July 1921.

CWMG, Vol. XX, P. 398]

Page 1106, Para 643(7).

Bombay, July 22nd.—M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting of Handloom weavers on 17th instant.

SPEECH AT MEETING OF WEAVERS, BOMBAY²

July 17, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said it was not the first time he had come to Madan-pura, for two years ago he had been there to see their work. But this meeting was for a different purpose altogether. When he had come there last there was no fear about the Khilafat question and they were sure of getting justice at the hands of their rulers, because the Prime Minister of Great Britain had promised to do the right thing by them. But the British Government had done a great deal of harm to the Mohammedans, and until their grievances were righted, their minds could not be at rest. On account of the doings of the Government in Punjab, the minds of the people were also very much disturbed. As long as a single sepoy could not be stopped by the Indians from being sent to foreign countries to fight for the British, so long could they not be said to have real power in their hands. They had found a powerful weapon now, and that was non-co-operation, and the Congress had laid down in definite terms what they should do in that regard. But the response of the people had not been great, for they had not given up their titles, and they had not boycotted the schools or the law courts. Therefore, he said that the people had not done their duty. But, in spite of this, the prestige of the Government had gone, for people now did not set much store by Government titles;

¹ To questions from the audience.

² Held on Sunday night at Madanpura, under the auspices of the Byculla Congress Committee.

people had been attending now law-courts not because these were good or they were sure of getting justice there, but because they were a sign of their degradation and their fall.

The duty before the weavers was clear and that was to help the *swadeshi* movement to the best of their ability. If the weavers could help the movement they could bring back prosperity to the country. It was most unfortunate that the weavers were using foreign yarn; he appealed to them to give up the use of foreign yarn, and use only *swadeshi* and hand-spun yarn. Not only should they use the fine counts but also the lower counts of hand-spun yarn. In no country did weavers use mill-made yarn. They used the fine counts but also the lower counts of hand-spun yarn. In no country in the world, not even in Japan, were there such weavers as they had in India. He was proud to be a weaver himself, because on them the prosperity of this country depended. Whenever anybody asked him to what profession he belonged, he proudly told him that he was a cultivator and a weaver, but not a barrister. The weavers could bring prosperity to this country by using hand-spun yarn and they should not think that by using it they would be ruining themselves. The present was not the time either for showing their skill or putting on fine clothes. They had to wear rough clothes until *swaraj* was theirs and Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were redressed. If they would but try, they could easily weave cloth from the hand-spun yarn; he assured them that they would earn as much as they were earning now. He asked them to give up the stock of foreign yarn which they might have on their hands. On the first of August¹ he did not want to see anyone wearing foreign clothes, and he would request anyone who wanted to go to Chowpatty on that day not to go there, if he had any foreign clothes on him. He asked the weavers to meet Mr. Mahomed AH and Mr. Khatri and discuss their difficulties with them. If they could boycott foreign clothes by the end of August, they could easily get *swaraj*.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, dated 19th July 1921.

CWMMG, Vol. XX, P. 394.]

Bombay City, July 23rd.—Appended is the translation of leaflet which is being distributed in Bombay since the 21st.

(*Translation*)

"Message of Mahatma Gandhi.

Remember the holy name of '*Lokamanya*' on the 1st August by discarding foreign cloth and wearing *khaddar*, Boycott is an indispensable condition for the attainment of *swaraj* and redress of the public and Khilafat wrongs.

Lakhs of brothers and sisters Hindus and Muhamadans, Parsis, Christians and Jews all should come to honour the memory of the *Lokamanya* on the 1st August.

Those who will not wear *khadi*, at least our mill made cloth, need not attend. To come dressed in foreign clothes is an insult to the memory of the deceased *Lokamanya*. Give away the foreign cloth to volunteers or send it to the stores opened in the Ashoka Building in Princess Street. To make a bonfire of them is the best way; but, if you wish, they will be sent to Smyrna or some other *country*."

¹This was the date fixed for the inauguration of the campaign for boycott of foreign cloth.

Page 1117, Para 652 (1) (4).

July 29th. On Wednesday, the 20th July. Poona City celebrated on a very extensive scale the anniversary of the late B. G. Tilak. The guests for the day included M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahomed Ali who came up from Bombay. There were no less than ten meetings and functions, the programme lasting from 7 a.m. until 8-30 at night.

The first meeting was in connection with the unveiling of Tilak's picture in the hall of the Poona Native General Library, at 7 a.m., the audience being addressed by *Rao Bahadur* Moghe, Nagarkar and M. K. Gandhi

The second function consisted of a crowded meeting attended by about 7.000 people, when an address was presented to Gandhi, en behalf of the Municipality, by the President L. J. Apte. Gandhi replied, and there was a short speech also by S. G. Lavate. During the course of the proceedings the portrait of Tilak" was unveiled by Gandhi, amidst cries of " *Tilak Maharaj ki jai*".

At 9 a.m. the third item of the programme was carried through, and consisted of the opening ceremony of the *Tilak Mahavidyalaya* by Gandhi. This was attended by about 200 people and speeches were made by D. R. Gharpure, Gandhi, Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and N. C. Kelkar. Reports of the meeting show that very little new ground was broken, though Gandhi explained that the difference between National and Government institutions lay not in the system of education, but in the spirit which the two systems infused. National schools were free and independent and the scholars were not obliged to sing "God save the King ", but were at liberty to chant "*Bande Matram* ". Mahomed Ali, as usual, appealed to the audience to prepare for sacrifice.

The fourth and fifth items were private functions at Mehendale's Wada and the Kesari Office. At each place Tilak's photo was unveiled.

The sixth meeting was also private and was attended by ladies only, when Gandhi and Mr. Mahomed Ali gave addresses in the Kirloskar Theatre. This was at 3-30 p.m.

At 4-30 p.m. there was a fairly large meeting of about 700 people in Gaikwad Wada when the following speakers spoke:—Baptista, Jamnadas M. Mehta, M. B. Velkar of Bombay. L. B. Bhopatkar, V. G. Ketkar of Nasik and N. C. Kelkar. Baptista was the main speaker and enunciated his policy of ' responsive co-operation '.

The 8th item consisted of a crowded meeting at Bhowani Peth when the following speakers addressed the audience: Moulvi Mohammad A. A. Siddiki, Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahomed Ali.

A still larger meeting was held about an hour later in the Shanwar Wada when the same speakers with the exception of the Moulvi-again spoke, and were supported by Bhopatkar, Gokhale and Kelkar. At the later meeting the following resolution was passed:—

"Of the many means resolved upon by Tilak to achieve *swaraj* and in conformity with the non-co-operation resolution of the Indian National Congress foreign cloth is to be boycotted. It is the earnest request of this meeting that all people should wear clothes made solely from yarn prepared in India and of cloth woven in India. "The last meeting was at 8-30 p.m. was attended by ladies only.

SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETINGS, POONA¹

July 20, 1921

Addressing a mass meeting in the Camp, Mahatma Gandhi said not an inch of cloth must be imported from foreign lands. In days gone by India used to manufacture more than sufficient quantity of cloth. The Indian cotton industry was ruined by the servants of the East India Company. The imported cloth cost them Rs. 60,00,00,000. They must be prepared to wear *khadi* and spin cotton. They must encourage the weavers to take up *swadeshi* yarn for weaving into cloth. *Swadeshi* was a religion. *Swaraj* was an impossibility without rigorous obedience to this religion.

Coming to picketing, the Mahatma said that picketing was a great and good movement, but drunkards must not be belaboured. They must not be abused. Volunteers should be strictly non-violent. Liquor merchants should close down their shops. The country wanted to get rid of drink the latter had turned drunkards into devils. The Mahatma concluded by appealing to the audience to take to *swadeshi* in right earnest².

Mr. Gandhi, in addressing the meeting, said that foreign cloth included cloth woven of foreign yarn, and asked all to be careful and scrupulous about it. He reminded the audience of Lokamanya Tilak's sufferings in the cause of freedom and asked them to imbibe his spirit. He said he was indifferent to boycott of schools and of law courts as it attained its object, but he insisted upon Hindu-Mohamedan unity, non-violence and mainly upon the boycott of foreign cloth. If they could but succeed in this boycott by the end of August, *swaraj* was virtually obtained. He paid compliments to Maharashtra and asked them to have faith.

Addressing a huge mass meeting on Shanwarwada grounds, the Mahatma said that, that was a sacred day. They had assembled there to celebrate the anniversary of Tilak Maharaj. He was the teacher of the great *mantra* of *swaraj*. *Swadeshi* was the simplest possible method to obtain *swaraj*. It would clothe the naked and feed the hungry. Twenty millions of Indians were half-starved. Maharashtra was wise, Maharashtra possessed learning. Maharashtra would spare no sacrifice but continued the Mahatma, Maharashtra lacked in faith. *Swaraj* within a year was certainty if Maharashtra would take to *swadeshim* with unflinching faith. Concluding, the Mahatma hoped that Maharashtra would prove worthy of Tilak Maharaj.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 24th July 1921.

CMWG. Vol. XX, P. 401]

(4) *Bombay*, July 25th.—Gandhi delivered a lecture at Madanpura on the 23rd July on the life work of Tilak. There were about 500 present. Baptista was to preside but did not come and his place was taken by a man named Patade.

Gandhi said Tilak had three great characteristics, fearlessness, self-sacrifice and simplicity, and if the people wanted *swaraj* they must cultivate the same qualities. He soon forgot Tilak and mounted his hobby horse, the cloth boycott, and the rest of his address was devoted to that.

¹ Earlier Gandhiji unveiled a bust of Tilak and paid tributes to him. He also addressed meetings of women and Khilafat workers.

² The paragraph, which follow are taken from two reports of Gandhiji's speech at a second public meeting held on Shanwarwada grounds which unanimously resolved to adopt *swadeshi* and boycott of foreign cloth. The first paragraph is from a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, dated 22nd July 1921.

SPEECH AT BOMBAY MEETING¹

July 23, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said before he commenced the proceedings of the meeting, he would read out a letter from Mr. Jayakar² who was laid up with fever and therefore, had expressed his inability to attend the meeting and contribute his quota of tribute to the memory of the *Lokamanya*. He then requested Mr. Lalit to recite his song about the late *Lokamanya*.

In addressing the meeting, the Mahatma said that the work for which they had gathered was sacred. They had a long programme that afternoon. He would not detain them long.

Mr. Tilak was not noted for making long speeches. He was noted for brave deeds. The country loved him not for his oratory. It was possible to name some of his contemporaries who were better orators from the ornamental standpoint. He (Mr. Gandhi) therefore did not need to detain the audience with a long speech. He would draw their attention to some of the most marked qualities which made him the idol of the people, qualities which were so needed for the nation when it was making a supreme effort to obtain its emancipation during the year. The truest tribute they could render to the memory of the deceased was by imitating his qualities and weaving them into their own lives. One great quality that the country prized in the *Lokamanya* was his fearlessness. It was so marked a quality in him that some even accused him of rudeness. We know that he never spared the bureaucracy. He therefore roused its ire and was accused of raising hatred against Englishmen. He knew however that if Mr. Tilak was unsparing in his criticism of the bureaucracy, he was ready to give praise to its members when it was merited. He remembered, during the last Calcutta session, which the deceased attended, Mr. Tilak presiding at a *Hindi Sammelan*. He was coming from strenuous discussion at the Congress session. But he was able to deliver a learned extempore speech at the *Satnmelan*. He gave unstinted praise to English scholars for their service to the vernaculars. He said that future historians would acknowledge their service. That did not mean they had come to India for the purpose of benefiting the vernaculars but he said it would be unjust not to acknowledge the debt India owed to the many Englishmen who had helped them to appreciate their own languages.

The second great quality which the country needed so much was Mr. Tilak's self-sacrifice. He never stinted himself for the service of his country. He did not bargain. For him sacrifice of self was pleasure. The speaker said he did not need to give illustrations because the audience knew the examples of sacrifice better than the speaker. The third great quality was his extreme simplicity. Mr. Tilak had always observed *swadeshi*. If *khadi* had been manufactured in his time he would have unhesitatingly worn it. He could not believe him to be capable of seeking personal adornment. He appealed to the audience to copy Mr. Tilak's *swadeshi*.

¹Held at Empire Theatre, under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha. Marmaduke Pickthall, Mahomed Ali and Sarojini Naidu were among those present. A number of ladies in the audience, including Perin Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, were dressed in khadi. Money raised on admission to the function was set aside as help for the best biography of Tilak.

²M. R. Jayakar (1873-1959); Bombay lawyer and liberal leader, political negotiator and peace-maker.

spirit. They must not do it in a niggardly spirit. He had heard thus ladies who had done so wonderfully in June were hesitating so part with their foreign saries. He could not forget the jewels a Parsi sister had sent at the Parsi meeting. He wanted the ladies to continue in the same spirit about *swadeshi*. If it was difficult thing they must recall Mr. Tilak's example. This was no time for shedding tears over their wardrobes. He hoped that the citizens of Bombay would signalize the 1st of August by discarding all their foreign cloth and wearing *khadi*. He then called upon Shrimati Sarojini Naidu to speak.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*, 24th July 1921.

CWMG. Vol. XX. P. 421]

Page 1153, Para 686.

Bombay City. August 1st. Gandhi attended the Court of the Acting Second Presidency Magistrate on the 30th July. He was called as a witness for the defence by the accused who is now being prosecuted for cheat ing. The case against the accused is that at a meeting, at which Gandhi was present, the accused advocated the boycott of certain tea-shops belong-ing to the complainant, who is also a liquor-shop-keeper, because some picketers had been roughly handled outside the complainant's liquor-shop; the tea-shops were accordingly boycotted; then the accused went to the complainant and said if he paid Rs. 300 to the Khilafat Fund he would have the boycott removed and subsequently he demanded Rs. 100 more. to defray expenses in connection with a *pan supari* to Shaukat Ali; com-plainant paid Rs. 400; but the boycott was not removed;whereupon complainant went to Shaukat Ali to complain. Shaukat Ali advised him to complain to the Police as nobody but the accused had seen to Rs. 400.

Gandhi merely said in his examination that he did not remember hearing the accused advise the boycott of complainant's tea-shops; if he had heard him he would have rebuked him.

Gandhi attended court on the 30th July and on the 29th he sent a telegram to a man in Hyderabad. Sind. saying thai " non-co-operators cannot give evidence. "

Page 1183. Para. 706(5).

August. 8th.—Under the auspices of the *Parsi Rajkiyu Sabha* a public meeting was held in the Excelsior Theatre on the 2nd August 1921 in aid of the Smyrna Relief Fund, M. K. Gandhi presiding. Admission was by ticket. About 3.000 people. Mahomedans. Parsis and Hiadus were ptesent.

M. K. Gandhi, Lala Lajpatrai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hales. Yakub Hasan, K. F. Nariman. K. K. Suntoke. M. M. Pickthall and the Ali Brothers addressed the meeting. The following three resolutions were passed. The proceedings were reported in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 3rd August 1921.

RESOLUTIONS

1. This meeting, representative of the Citizen.of Bombay without difference of caste or creed, regards with horror the atrocities committed by Greek troops and their adherents in the homelands of the Turkish race.

2. This meeting resolves, in view of the present boycott of foreign cloth in India, that as much its possible of the said foreign cloth discarded by the Indian people shall be sent to Turkey for the comfort of the sufferers from Greek aggression, of whom nearly a million are devoid of proper clothingar the means to buy it. and that an All-India Committee be at once appointed to organise this philanthropic work which is well calculated to promote the sense of universal brotherhood.

3. In view of the facts that an inter-allied commission of enquiry has pronounced that the Greek claim to even Smyrna and its immediate hinterland is unjust, that another inter-allied commission lately testified to the horrors which Greek rule entails upon the Muslim majority that the Greek-are now in " occupation " of a large part of Turkey and that the present Greek offensive is said to have been undertaken in defiance of the wish of the allies, this meeting has no confidence in the declaration of her neutrality by Great Britain and places on record its opinion that had the British Government been sincere in its profession, it could have protected Turkey from the unprovoked attack upon her homelands by the Greeks and it would have done so without in any way endangering the rights of non-Mussalman races in the Turkish dominions.

SPEECH ON SWADESHI. BOMBAY¹

July 30, 1921

Mr. Gandhi said on the 30th June Indians had done their duty to their country and they must be proud of it, for they had realized that they could do a thing without the support, the patronage, of Government. Their fear about want of money was now removed and even now he was receiving, unasked funds from his Parsi, Mohammedan and Hindu friends for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and that showed that Indians were realizing their duty to their Motherland. He was now sure that, if the money that was already collected was spent properly, they would not only be able to collect one crore of rupees, but even four crores. He, however, wanted *swaraj* before the end of the year and that would mean they would not have to colieci any more monies. But man proposes and God disposes, and his desires might not be fulfilled. If all Indians- men and women did their duty to their country, he was sure of success. . The All India Congress Committee had now decided that they should put their energies in producing as much *khaddar* as possible. Without having *swadeshi* they could not have *swaraj*. Indians did not like to wear what was produced in this country but only those clothes which came from England, France and Japan, as they thought that country made cloth was not beautiful or artistic enough for their requirement. If they could think like that how could they realize *swaraj*? The two lungs of India were food and clothing and if they were diseased the country could not live long. How many crores of people there were in this country who were on the verge of starvation? If they thought about them they would find that it was their duty to provide for those starving Indians. If they read the history of this country they would find that since India gave up weaving and spinning and took to foreign cloth India was suffering from poverty and as long as they did not try to remedy these things their suffering would continue. If the Parsi millionaires gave all their money to the poor of this country their sufferings would not cease, for did they want to keep those crores of persons dependent on their *sadavarts*? Or did they want to make them self-dependent? By their own efforts, by their own work, these people should earn their livelihood and get their clothing, and they must not be taught to depend upon others for their necessities. There was only one way of providing work for the poor in this country and that was by Indians wearing *khaddar*. Some people might ask him why all those persons did not come to towns like Ahmedabad and Bombay where there was so great a scarcity of

¹ Gandhiji spoke to a crowded meeting of Pars-is, held under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, at Excelsior Theatre.

labour. He did not think that the poor of India would leave their homes and migrate to the towns for work in the mills. Supposing they did that. what would be the result? Indians would have to starve, for who would till the soil and produce wheat and other cereals for them? India would then be a jungle and the people would have to starve. It was therefore not possible for the whole population to migrate to towns. So long as there was a single man starving in this country; so long it was the duty of Indians to be economical and not to indulge in useless luxuries. Therefore, he was telling his friends that whatever reforms they might get, whatever resolutions they might pass in the Councils, so long as they could not remove the poverty from this land, all their efforts would be in vain. He would appeal to his Parsi friends to realize the true position of India, diagnose the disease from which the country was suffering and then try to remove it by means of observing *swadeshi*. Let the Parsis show to the whole country—however much steeped in luxury they might be, however much they might like to use costly things and clothes—that once they had realized the serious position of this country they were willing to do their duty by their Motherland and not only fall in line with other communities but — lead the other backward communities to the goal of *swaraj*. He for one believed fully that a community which was always taking the lead in many questions in this country would also lead the country this time and would not fall behind. It was impossible for the country to make a move forward without taking all the different communities with it and India could not afford to leave a single community behind. Parsis who had been taking a leading part in so many questions, he had no doubt, would do so also in this regard. The Parsis should not say that because they had two months before them they would do nothing until the 30th September and give up everything on the last day. The Parsi community would be put to test on Monday next¹ and he knew they would not be found wanting, for he knew his Parsi friends thoroughly. How could he not know a community with whom he had lived for so many years. The men and women who had given so much money to Tilak Swaraj Fund, who had given up their ornaments, should not fail in their duty now on the 1st of August. Let them all give up their foreign clothes on that date; What they thought was sinful to wear they should not keep for a single moment with them. They must realize that by wearing these foreign clothes they were starving millions of their own countrymen. Those foreign clothes should be destroyed and must not be kept with them, for they were tainted. What was sinful for them to wear was also sinful for poor men to wear and therefore, he was against their clothes being given to poor men even. But they might be sent out of India to Smyrna if they so desired.

He would ask them to wear khadi and allow poor men to wear the mill-made cloth. Whatever was hand-made was more artistic, more beautiful and better on the whole than what was made on the machine. All that was made on the machine was for the poor and the rich men should spin their own yarn and send it to their own weavers to be woven into any kind of cloth they liked. That was the practice formerly before they took to foreign cloth. We had forgotten all the artistic crafts that were in this country and had taken to mill-made foreign things simply because they came from France or England. Were they incapable of all originality among themselves that they should resort to foreign countries for everything? Had they forgotten all their crafts and were they so much

¹ August 1. The boycott campaign was to be launched on that day.

dependent on foreign countries for their requirements? He appealed to them to give up their foreign things and make some sacrifice for their country. It was not actually a sacrifice that they were making; they were only serving their country. He was glad that all the members of the All-India Congress Committee numbering something like 300 had come down to Bombay dressed in pure white *khaddar*. He often remembered what Mr. Pickthall had said about this. He had said that if they wanted to adopt any new colour they must first wash themselves while of all their impurities—they must adopt pure white *khaddar* before they took any coloured cloth. There was purity, there was holiness and there was beauty in *khaddar* and it did not cause any inconvenience to those who wore it. It was the badge of our Indian nationality and they must wear it now. He then asked them to sign their names after due consideration to the pledge which was circulated among them. They must do so only after full consideration as he did not want to shame them) into signing the pledge. It should be purely voluntary and there should be no sort of compulsion whatever.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*. 31st July 1921.

CWMG. Vol. XX, P. 488]

Page 1185, Para 708(3).

Bombay August 1st.—A spinning class was started at Madanpura last week by Anandram Vaikuntra, the Secretary of the Handloom Weaver' Union, with about a dozen *charkhas*; Gandhi paid a visit to the class on the 31st July.

Page 1191, Para 708(11)(12).

Bombay S. Division, August 1st.—Great efforts are being put forward to get the people to discard the use of foreign cloth.

On the 30th July, at 9 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi, C. R. Das. Pandit Moti-lal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu attended a meeting at Vile Parle. About 200 persons were present. Gandhi urged the audience to leave off wearing foreign cloth.

On the 1st August M. K. Gandhi visited Ghatkopar and addressed a meeting held in the bungalow of Heerachand Devichand Desai. About 500 people were present. As many of the ladies present were dressed in their best. Gandhi took the opportunity of reproving them. The main point of his address was on the matter of wearing *khadi*.

12. *Nasik, August 8th.* —On the 3rd August Gandhi with Muhammad Ali passed through Manmad. They were greeted at the station by a crowd. Mahommad Ali briefly advocated the boycott of foreign cloth—Gandhi, in response, for a few kind words, said he was sorry to see so much foreign cloth still in use for head-gear and clothes. Whereupon some 35 to 40 caps and 2 to 3 coats were thrown into his carriage. These were given to Tyab, Arab, to be burnt. One wonders if they were burnt.

Page 1192, Para 709(17).

Bombay City. August 8th.—Adam Haji Ismail, a Memon, has started a business called the "Khilafa't Stores" at Bhendi Bazaar. The opening ceremony of the Stores was performed by Gandhi at 12-30 p.m. on the 3rd August 1921. There were about 200 persons present, amongst whom were the following; Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Gandhi in declaring the Stores open hoped that rich merchants in Bombay would encourage the *swadeshi* movement by starting such Stores all over the City. No one else spoke.

Page 1202, Para. 724.

Bombay City, August 8th.—The Central Khilafat Committee and Gandhi have issued appeals to the Muhammadan public not to slaughter cows on the forth-coming *Bakri-Id*.

Pages 1256, and 58-59, Para 764(7).

Bombay City, August 24th.—Proceedings of the Working Committee held at Mahatma Gandhi's residence in Laburnum Road, Bombay on the 31st July 1921.

The proceedings commenced at 8-30 a.m.

Mahatma Gandhi then proposed the following resolution:

XVII. Without prejudice to the constitutional questions relating to the elections to the All-India Congress Committee held in Bengal and Madras last month and without going into the merits thereof, in view of the fact that fresh elections must take place in or before November next all over India and in view of the fact that a very intensive programme is at present set before all Congress organizations, this Committee considers it undesirable, in the interests of the country, to disturb the said elections and advises such persons from Bengal and Madras as feel themselves aggrieved to co-operate with the Provincial organisations in both the Provinces with a view to the prosecution of the programme to a successful issue.

The motion was duly seconded by Moulana Mahomed Ali.

Votes being taken the resolution was passed by a majority, one voting against and one not voting.

Page 1306, Para 806(10). Translation of Gujarati Leaflet .

Mahatma Gandhi's Message.

If India carries out successfully the programme of boycott in September and depends on itself in October, appears to me that the result will not give satisfaction to one who hopes for the highest and to one like me who is anxious to arrive at the speediest solution of the Khilafat.

To.

The ladies and gentlemen of Bombay,
Hand over your foreign clothes to the National School boys. Have *khadi*
from the Khadi Bhandar or the Congress Committee Office.

Sd/-

UCHHRANGRAI KESHAVRAI O./A.
Principal

National School. Bombay.

22nd August 1921.

Maneek Press, Grant Road.

To,

The Women of India,

Message of Mahatma Gandhi.

Just as the destruction of articles full of plague germs is the best action from the economic point of view, so is the destruction of foreign cloth the best action of all.

Your blessings can be fruitful by discarding your foreign clothes and by spinning always in the leisure hours for the benefit of the nation.

When the National School boys come to your doors then—

1. Hand over the richest of your apparel.
2. Purchase *khadi saris* from the Khadi Bhandar or the Congress Committee.
3. Spin as much as you can in the leisure hours.

Sd/-

UCHHRANGRAI KESHAVRAI OZA.
Principal.

National School:

Bombay, 22nd August 1921.

Page 1497, Para 985(7).

Bombay City, October 3rd.— On. the day of Gandhi's arrival, the 2nd instant, the volunteers were in evidence trying to collect foreign clothes. The party of 22 volunteers, after meeting him at the station, engaged a victoria and made a tour through parts of the city. They collected a certain amount of old clothing.

Pages 1512-13, Para 999.

S. B. Bombay Presidency October, 7th.—In an article in the *Young India*, dated the 29th September headed "*Tampering with, loyalty*". Gandhi writes With reference to the arrests that the duty of the Congress and the Khilafat workers is clear; they have their appointed course to follow: they must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the sepoys and they must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it pleases Government to arrest them, in the same issue he publishes over his signature an open letter "To the Mussalmans of India" reiterating the above statement and adding that they Must declare from a thousand platforms " that it is sinful for any Mussalman or Hindu to serve the existing Government whether as a soldier or in any other capacity whatsoever".

Bombay Chronicle, 5th October 1921.

To the Editor of the *Chronicle*.

Sir,

Persistent rumours supposed to be well founded were brought to me in Madras and have been repeated with greater emphasis in Bombay that my arrest is imminent. If the rumour is well-found, the Government will certainly deserve congratulations for consistency after the arrest of the Ali Brothers and their co-prisoners, for, now the battle is being waged not against violence, so-called or real, or incitement thereto, but against the very principle of non-co-operation for which the Congress and the Khilafat Committee stand, and that principle is promoting disaffection against the established Government and promoting non-co-operation with the Government by all classes, including civilian and soldiers. The success of that propaganda it is obvious, means the dissolution of the existing system of Government and it would be unbecoming for those who are avowed non-co-operators to question any steps that the Government may take in order to crush the movement, and I cannot conceive a more logical step than to arrest the author of the movement, unless the administrators of the system intend to change it in accordance with the wishes of the non-co-operators. The country has shown by its dignified calm attitude after the arrests of

the Ali Brothers and others, that it has realised the necessity of non-violence. I expect the retention of the same non-violent atmosphere after my arrest or that of any other worker. The people will show their true courage and appreciation of non-violence and of imprisonments for the sake of one's religion and one's country as an honour to be prized not only by remaining absolutely peaceful but by refraining from *hartals* or any such demonstration. Any *hartal* following the arrest of myself or any other worker would be a breach of discipline and, therefore, no mark of respect or affection for the arrested worker. The only way to show one's regard is to demonstrate greater zeal in prosecution of the Congress programme of *swadeshi* and hasten the advent of *swaraj* thereby. I would certainly expect, in the event of my arrest, every man and woman in India who believes in the message of *swadeshi*, but through laziness or weakness has not yet discarded foreign cloth and taken to hand-spinning and hand-weaving, to discard all foreign cloth and take up the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. I would expect the Hindus on no account to relax their efforts for the Khilafat or halt if away for so-called *swaraj*, for *swaraj*, without the conciliation of the Mussalman, is, in my opinion, an inconceivable thing. Yours etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 1522, Para 1011.

Bombay Suburban Area, September 26th—A leaflet, printed as below, has been received from Bandra, Bombay Suburban District, where it is reported copies are being widely circulated.

THE GOSPEL OF SWARAJ.

Ten Commandments.

1. Thou shalt enrol thyself a member of the Congress Committee.
 2. Thou shalt introduce a spinning-wheel in thine.
 3. Thou shalt encourage hand-weaving in thine village.
 4. Thou shalt clothe thyself in pure Khadi, Hand-spun and Hand-woven and if possible locally produced.
 5. Thou shalt boycott foreign cloth immediately.
 6. Thou shalt send thine foreign clothes to the local Congress Committee.
 7. Thou shalt not drink liquor either at home or in the shop.
 8. Thou shalt not offer liquor to thine guests on any occasion.
 9. Thou shalt dissuade others from the use of foreign cloth and liquor by non-violent means.
 10. Thou shalt sacrifice to thine utmost for the immediate attainment of *swaraj*.
- Note.*—Subscription four annas per year.

Page 1550, Para 1025 (10).

Bombay City, October 10th.—The second bonfire of foreign clothes took place on the evening of the ninth in the compound of the Eilphinstone Mill which belongs to Umer Sobani. The last bonfire was held in the same place. The *Chronicle* says the crowd could be counted by lakhs, but the police report that it was only about half as big as on the last occasion and that there were probably not more than 10,000 present. There were 150 or 200 ladies present of whom about 20 were wearing *khaddar*. Nearly all the men were wearing Gandhi caps. Gandhi himself was in a loin cloth. The Muhammadans and Parsis were not so noticeable as on the 31st July.

The bonfire itself was nothing like as big as the last one.

An extract from the *Chronicle* is appended which contains a report of the speeches made.

(Extract from *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 10th October 1921).

At the bonfire near the Elphinstone Mills on Sunday night the crowd was as large as on the last occasion. It could be counted only in lakhs. The enthusiasm of the people was also very great. From early afternoon people were moving towards the Elphinstone Road, clothed in *khaddar*, and later in the evening it was impossible to pass along the Elphinstone Bridge and its precincts. But the meeting, in spite of such a large crowd, was the most orderly, perhaps the most orderly of all the meetings of this kind in Bombay.

The whole crowd was very quiet all the time and for this a great deal of credit is due to the large number of volunteers. In the middle of the arena large platform was erected for the leaders and near it the foreign clothes which had been collected during the past few days were arranged in the shape of pyramid. All sorts of clothes of foreign make were there—costly silk saris, full of brocades, costly, shirts, hats and in fact everything that was considered necessary up to this time, was there thrown in a heap, all well arranged soaked in kerosene and mixed with crackers.

Mrs. Naidu presided at the meeting and Mahatma Gandhi moved the principal and the only resolution before the meeting supported by the various leaders like Lala Lajpatrai, Maulana Azad, Sobhani, Babu Rajendra Prasad etc. Mahatma Gandhi whose speech was full of pathos moved his hearers very much and he spoke with a great deal of feeling and sorrow. Some tears were to be seen in his eyes, so moved he was by sorrow at the failure on the part of the people in doing their duty towards their country. After the resolution, which was similar to that of the Karachi resolution, was passed all standing, the Mahatma lighted the heap of foreign clothing and it burned on merrily amidst the loud noise of crackers and bursting flames. The sight was extremely impressive; the vast audiences, the burning clothes, and the passionate speakers, under God's sky in the growing night.

The Resolution.

Mahatma Gandhi moved.—This meeting of the citizens of Bombay reaffirms the following Resolution of the Working Committee held in Bombay on the 5th instant.

"The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and their comrades upon their prosecution and having considered the Resolution of the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi, regarding Military Service under the Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the Resolution virtually re-affirms the principle laid down by the Congress at its special session in Calcutta, and its ordinary session in Nagpore last year,' that it is contrary to national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of a Government in any capacity whatsoever; a Government that has used the soldiers for the purposes of crushing the national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and others nations. The Working Committee has been only deterred from calling out the soldiers as the Civilians in the name of the Congress, because the Congress is not yet ready to support these Government servants, who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Working Committee, however, is of opinion that

in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress Resolution on non-co-operation it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance to leave such service.

"The Working Committee draws the attention of all Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding and hand-spinning and hand-weaving afford them, by undergoing training for a brief period, an honourable means for independent livelihood. The Working Committee is further of opinion that the reasons given' for the prosecution with reference to the said Karachi resolution constitute an undue interference with religious liberty."

MAHATMA'S SPEECH

In proposing the resolution Mahatma Gandhi said, it divided itself into two parts. The first part dealt with the Karachi resolution and was intended to be its confirmation from the national standpoint. And if it was a crime in the Ali Brothers and their fellow prisoners to have supported the resolution, it was a crime for the speaker and the audience to propose and pass the resolution. He considered it their duty to state their position clearly. It was their duty to inform the sepoy that it was wrong to help a Government which had forfeited the confidence of the country. The speaker was informed that the resolution was said to be worded cleverly after the fashion of a lawyer so as to avoid the clutches of the law. It was said that like the Khilafat resolution, the present one did not require everyone to tell the Sepoy to lay down arms. He differed from that view. He was of opinion that by the resolution everyone endorsing it told the Sepoy that it was his duty to give up service, if only he could support himself otherwise. If his voice could reach the Sepoy he certainly told him that if he believed in his faith whether he was a Hindu or a Musalman or believed in his own country, he should leave the service even if he had to earn his livelihood by breaking stones. One who wanted to be a soldier of India could not be a Sepoy of a Government which had served against India. Those who murdered the innocent men of Jallianwala were no soldiers, they were mere animals. Those who ran no risk but only killed were again no soldiers, but animals. He had, therefore, no hesitation in telling the Sepoy through the audience that he should lose no time in severing his connection with the Government if he cared for his country and religion.

One thing the resolution did not require the people to do namely to carry on secret propaganda. They had ruled out secrecy from their book of non-co-operation. They were ashamed to say in secret what they were not prepared to say in public. If therefore the Government held it a crime to recite the creed of non-co-operation, he invited them to arrest those who took part in the evening's proceedings. If it was a crime to tell the soldier that it was unlawful for him to serve the Government in terms of his religion and nationalism, he (the speaker) invited the Government to arrest him and those who supported and carried the resolution.

The other part of the resolution pointed out to the soldier the way to an honourable livelihood. It referred to *swadeshi*. He asked the audience not to carry that resolution if they did not believe in *swadeshi* and the power of the spinning-wheel to banish poverty from the land. The resolution told the soldier that he could earn his living by carding and weaving. He verily believed that Maulana Mahomed Ali that they did not need lead and gun powder. Yarn balls were their lead and the spinning-wheel was their gun. He said last September that it was possible to gain *swaraj*, to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the

twelve months following if they fulfilled certain conditions. Twelve months had passed but there was no *swaraj*. The fault was theirs. They had done much but had not fulfilled the minimum required. He wished to share the blame.

He was sorry that he had not the power of convincing every lawyer that it was wrong to practise before the courts which gave no justice. He was sorry that his *tapsya* was not enough to carry conviction to every student that it was wrong to belong to Government schools. He knew that he had not been able to convince every man and woman of Bombay that it was sinful to wear anything but *khaddar*. But they need not mind him. If the country still carried out the *swadeshi* programme during the month *swaraj* was a certainty during the year and so was redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He adhered to his faith in the spinning-wheel. He had no doubt that if he and it alone could solve the problem of India's poverty. Its acceptance to him was a test of the reality of Hindu-Muslim unity and from violence. He would not be party to general civil disobedience if they could not fulfil the *swadeshi* programme. He would not be satisfied unless *khaddar* had become universal, foreign cloth a rarity. He wanted to see the men and women of Bombay to be dressed in *khaddar* only. He was told that the sale of *khaddar* was to the extent of Rs. 18,000 in July, Rs. 13,000 in August and Rs. 7,000 in September in *Khadi Bhndar*. He wanted to see lacks worth of Khadi sold. He wanted to see the spinning-wheel at work in every house in Bombay. Bombay had led in the matter of Tilak Swaraj Fund. Let Bombay lead in *swadeshi* and gain the privilege of offering general civil disobedience. He had erred in the April of 1919 in hastily embarking on civil disobedience. He was a very imperfect human being liable to err. God alone was free from error. But he was knowing enough not to err twice about the same thing. He could not advise civil disobedience without *swadeshi*. He knew the science of civil disobedience. He knew its power and its risks. A completely non-violent atmosphere was a necessity, and it could not be ensured unless the nation had recognised the power of the spinning-wheel and settled down to it. If they believed in *swadeshi* and its results, he expected to see a spinning-wheel at work in every home. He expected all castes and creeds to take up the spinning-wheel and *khaddar*. He expected princely men to take to *charkha* and the mill hands to take up the spinning wheel. And when they had done that they could safely go to individual soldier and openly ask him to give up his service.

He had found many shedding tears to see him reducing himself to a mere loin cloth. He could not do otherwise after having witnessed what he had. He wanted no pity for himself but he did want India, if he was to revert to his normal dress, to adopt full *swadeshi*. He had visited the ceded districts. It was going through a famine—women were reported to have drowned themselves and their children for want of food. It was not possible for him to wear more clothing than he did after knowing such deep distress.

He would presently put the torch to the pyramid of clothing in front of them. To him it was a symbol of the fire raging in their breasts. This burning was a mere show unless it was a replica of internal fire.

They revered the memory of the Lokamanya. They need not go to his commentary on the Gita to learn Tilak Gita. The speaker could tell them what it was in one word. The first half was supplied by the Lokamanya himself, viz. *Swaraj* is our birthright. He would supply the second half.

The spinning-wheel is the means to attain it. He was sure that if the deceased had been alive, he would be on the same platform with them. Was he not a lover of *swadeshi*? Had he not practised it as it was then practised for years? He, the speaker, knew that the deceased believed in non-co-operation. He certainly donated the country's ability to follow it up. Let them remove the doubt and by complete rehabilitation of *swadeshi* establish *swaraj* during the year. He invited the Musalmans who felt so deeply for the Khilafat and the Hindus who felt equally for the vow to take up the spinning-wheel and ensure the success of *swadeshi*.

The resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously, all standing in support of it at the request of Mrs. Naidu.

Mr. Gandhi then got down from the platform, set a lighted torch to the pyramid of clothes which had been tastefully decorated and amid loud noise of crackers and burst of flames in all directions from the heap, the meeting dispersed.

Page 1562, Para. 1034(2).

Bombay City. October 6th.—I send you herewith a copy of a report received from the Superintendent. C. I. D.

Gandhi meant to have the meeting of the Working Committee in Ahmedabad, but yesterday afternoon he suddenly decided to have it in Bombay instead. The Committee met at about 4 O'clock. All the members were present except C. R. Das and C. Vijaya Raghavachariar. Though most of the members came to Bombay with the intention of voting for civil disobedience. Gandhi again forced his will on them and because he did not consider it opportune to resort to civil disobedience at present. he got them to pass a resolution according to his wishes. The only opposition which he met with was from V. J. Patel and N. C. Kelkar who proposed that civil disobedience in minor matters should be adopted. These two men apparently chafe some what under the dictatorship of Gandhi.

The next meeting of the Working Committee is fixed for the 3rd November at Delhi and of the All India Congress Committee for the 4th November also at Delhi.

Gandhi left for Ahmedabad by Gujerat Mail last night. The rumours still continue that he is about to be arrested and caused some temporary depreciation in the share market yesterday.

Report by the Superintendent, C.I.D., dated 5th October 1921.

The following details regarding the meeting of the leaders of the Congress are available:—

In the beginning the fact that certain provinces such as United Provinces, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Dharwar and Andhra, asked for permission from the Working Committee to start civil disobedience made Gandhi reply that it would be a crowning day for the country when civil disobedience was started but that the people should understand, that if they wanted *swaraj* in the way in which he felt sure he would get it, there should be direct attempts of alienating the Indian Military from Government service and that it was no use having civil disobedience such as infringement of the Press Act or non-payment of taxes. He further added that he believed that the Indian soldiers, both Hindus and Muhammadans. who are serving in the Military were committing a sin and that it was the duty of the leaders to open their eyes and prevent them from continuing the same. He further said that Government had grossly insulted the Islamic religion by

confiscating the religious *fatwas*. He therefore thought that the publication of these very prescribed *fatwas* together with new *fatwas* about the religious duties of the Indian Army, should be taken up with great vigour. He therefore wanted to know the sense of the members of the meeting.

N. C. Kelkar said that civil disobedience on minor points should be started. V. J. Patel supported him.

Page 1688, Para 1147(12).

Bombay City, October 31st.—Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker has published about 2,000 copies of a poster in Gujarati and Marathi containing the message of Gandhi to the people of Bombay. These posters have been placarded at conspicuous places in the city.

The following is a rough translation of the poster:

Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—If Bombay wants to have a first start for *Swaraj* for peaceful war then in this month (1) everyone should acquaint himself with the knowledge of carding, spinning and weaving at least an hour should be devoted to spinning; (2) everyone should get used to wearing *khadi* made of handspun yarn; (3) in the bazaars, temples, mosques, theatres, etc., nothing should be seen except *khadi*, and (4) nobody should have faith in violence.

About 50 students of the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha Muslim High School went round several Mohollas in the city on the 26th and 27th October, collecting foreign clothes and distributing handbills " Khilafat and Mahatma Gandhi's Message ". They collected certain amount of old clothes.

Page 1728, Para 1548(10).

Nasik, November 30th.—M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali passed through by the Punjab mail on the 18th November. At Manmad, at the request of one Tyeb Arab, Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 500 persons on the station platform. Shaukat Ali was given a purse of Rs. 350 collected by this Tyeb in Manmad. At Nandgaon another purse of Rs. 50 was to have been presented, but the train did not stop. It was handed over later on.

Page 1854. Para 1275(5).

Bombay, November 28th.—Under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee, a public meeting and a bonfire of foreign clothes was held in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill. Parel, on the 17th November. M. K. Gandhi presided. More than 25,000 people, mostly Hindus, were present. About 100 ladies dressed in *khadi* saris also attended.

The speakers were:(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Maulana Abdul Kadir Azad Sobani, (3) Pandit Nekiram Sharma.

1922

Pages 131-32, Para 104.

Bombay City, January 18th.—The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Gandhi's House, Laburnum Road, in the afternoon of the 17th instant. M. K. Gandhi presided.

M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on 17th January 1922.

Page 320, Para 271(2).

Poona, February 19th —The Commissioner, Central Division writes. "Rumours of Gandhi's arrest and the postponement are rife. Moderate-opinion in Poona and Satara (which I have just visited) is one of acute disappointment and that the arrest will be inevitable later and that the longer it is delayed the more trouble it will cause. The statement of the Secretary of State that Gandhi will abandon active civil disobedience is received with credulity, while the Extremist party openly deride it"

Page 400, Para 364.

Bombay, March 12th.—The news of Gandhi's arrest was received very quietly in Bombay. There was no sign of restlessness anywhere in the City. Placards were posted up by the Congress and Khilafat Committees advising the people to remain calm, but they appeared to be unnecessary. For a day or two previous to his actual arrest there were rumours that he had already been arrested, but there was little or no sign of excitement. There was no spontaneous desire for a *hartal* or other form of mourning and there was no sign of agents endeavouring to foment trouble.

A public meeting was held on the night of the 11th in the Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain Mahajanwadi, V. J. Patel presiding. There were about 600 present. K. P. Khadilkar, V. J. Patel, Jamnadas Mehta and N. D. Upadhya spoke. It was all advice couched in inoffensive language to keep quiet and not to disturb the peace, and extolling the virtues of non-violence.

Kulaba, March 13th.—The effects, if any, of Gandhi's arrest are not yet discernable. I do not expect any results in this district.

Poona, March 12th.—The news of Gandhi's arrest was received on the evening of the 11th March. It was generally expected that a *hartal* would be proclaimed on the following day, but the *Lokasangraha* published a special edition that evening giving Gandhi's wishes in that connection. There was then no demonstration or procession of any kind. On the 12th idem a meeting was held at the Shivaji Mandir at which N. C. Kelkar presided, some 4,000 attended and resolution congratulating Gandhi on his arrest and resolving to carry on the non-co-operation movement in a peaceful manner as desired by Gandhi was passed. S. M. Paranjpe, S. K. Damle, Abdul Isak, S. G. Lavate and others spoke on the occasion. The speeches were all moderate in tone. Moulvi Muhammad Ali Siddikki spoke to the effect that Gandhi's arrest was necessary to lay the foundation of *Swaraj* and tauntingly said that Kelkar would be the next person to go to jail and then hundreds of people from Poona would be prepared to do so to heighten the fame of Tilak's Poona.

Ahmednagar, March 15th—The news of M. K. Gandhi's arrest was heard through the *Advocate* on the morning of the 12th March in Ahmednagar, but so far there have been no signs of special interest taken over the matter here. At Sangamner, where I had sent my Deputy, R. S. Kamte, he reports that all was quiet. The Inspector reports that after receipt of the news at Sangamner, Maruti Moreshwar Pingle. Pleader and president of the local Taluka Congress Committee, Virchand Shrichand, Gujerati, Shankar Govind Paregaonkar, Sadashiv Bhimshankar Saraf, Laxman Shridhar Saraf and Laxmansing Balaram, Pardeshi, assembled in Ram Krishnadas Buwa's house, where they made preparations for a procession which they took through the town. It was attended mostly by boys of the National School numbering about 100. A board informing the public that Gandhi had

been arrested and advocating a protest meeting for 9 p.m. was taken in procession, Gandhi's photo, garlanded with red flowers, accompanied in a perambulator. The procession went round the town to the cries of "Victory to Gandhi" and "Victory to Tilak Maharaj".

East Khandesh, March 15th.—Gandhi's arrest has been taken quietly. Handbills were distributed at Jalgaon and Bhusawal advising no *hartals*, etc., and giving his last message. An attempt to collect foreign clothing for a bonfire was abortive at Jalgaon and at Bhusawal, only five articles altogether being contributed.

West Khandesh, March. The district has received quietly the news of Gandhi's arrest.

Nasik, March 15th.—The news of Gandhi's arrest became known in Nasik on Saturday evening. At Yeola it was known the same time. In Nasik a meeting was hurriedly convened on Saturday evening (11th instant), Raghunath Hari Gadre, pleader presided. The other speakers were V. S. Akut. pleader; R. G. Pradhan, pleader; V. P. Upadhe, pleader; V. G. Ketkar, pleader; the audience was about 3,000. There was nothing special or violent in any speech. The sum and substance was of course to denounce the arrest with an exhortation to carry on the Mahatma's work, though he be absent in the body, he would still be present in spirit. There was no talk of a *hartal* or any other demonstration. At Malegaon and at Yeola, too, there was no demonstration of any kind. While there has been no excitement over any "playing up" elsewhere, Nasik may demonstrate feebly.

Bombay Suburban Area, March 12th.—So far the news of Gandhi's arrest has caused no excitement in this district.

Thana, March 11th.—The District Magistrate writes: "The arrest of Gandhi is known practically to all now. but so far everything is quiet. But the district will take its cue from what happens in Bombay..

Pages 428-29, Para 391 (19) (a.b.c).

Bombay, March 20th.—The news of Gandhi's conviction was received very quietly in Bombay. It was known early on the afternoon of the 18th. The only exhibition of feeling was that the Cotton Bazaar at Colaba did not open for business at 4 p.m. as usual. On the 20th idem business was in full swing as usual everywhere. The Share Bazaar closed for ten minutes or so but then resumed business.

Leaflets were issued in large numbers by the Congress Committee enjoining peace. They run as follows: —

(a)

Mahatma Gandhi has gone to Jail

Duty of people

The people should behave peacefully according to the instructions of the Congress and Khilafat Committees if they want *Swarajya*, justice in connection with the Punjab and Khilafat. the maintenance of the human birthright of free speech and writing and if they want to honour Mahatma Gandhi and to give him peace, and

(1) Become members of the Congress, (2) Boycott foreign cloth, (3) Use hand-spun and hand-woven *Khadi*, (4) Work *Charkhas*, (5) Give one per cent. of their annual income to the Tilak Swarajya Fund, (6) Remove the untouchability of the depressed classes, (7) Remove the sin of drink, (8) Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and Jew should behave with

each other in a friendly manner, (9) Behave peacefully with those who differ in opinion (10) Get cases decided by the *Panchayat*, (11) Maintain self control, (12) Be self dependent,

(b)

Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
2, Dean Lane, Fort, Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi has gone to Jail

Duty of people

Do not strike. Go to your work. Maintain peace. Use *Khadi*. Boycott foreign cloth. Respect the Congress Khilafat Committees' orders.

Secretary, Bombay Provincial
Congress Committee. No. 2, Dean Lane.
Fort, Bombay.

(c) Mahatma Gandhi has been sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Mahatma's order is not to strike but to behave peacefully.

1924

Page 35, Para 81.

January 11.—It is rumoured in Poona City that Government has asked Gandhi if he is prepared to accept release on conditions similar to those imposed upon V. D. Savarkar and that Gandhi has declined the offer as he says, he is as happy at Yeravda as he would be at Sabarmati. Government is said to be now considering his unconditional release. The reason given for this move on the part of Government is that a resolution for the release of Gandhi is shortly to be moved in the Assembly. This resolution is certain to be passed by a large majority and Government will not be able to veto it for fear of becoming still more unpopular. The fact that the I about Party is now coming into power adds, of course, to the difficulties of the situation.

Page 60, Para 136.

January 25.—It is rumoured in Poona that Gandhi has advised N. C. Kelkar and Lala Lajpatrai not to work in the Councils for his release, as he personally is quite content to remain in jail and is certainly not prepared to accept any release to which conditions may be attached. In spite of this, however, the Swarajists intend to try to obtain the release of the Mahatma more with the idea of making Government unpopular than with that of conferring a benefit upon Gandhi. It is also said that His Excellency the Viceroy in this connection has advised his Excellency the Governor of Bombay that the release or otherwise of Gandhi is purely a provincial question and that the Government of India do not propose to interfere in the decision of the local Government in the matter.

Page 68, Para 156.

January 31.—The outstanding event of the week has been the operation for appendicitis performed upon Gandhi at the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, on the night of January 12. The general impression in Poona was that the operation was one for piles. Whatever the impression was, however, the general public took little interest in it, judging by the absence of any crowd near the hospital. When the seriousness of the case became more general, public interest increased and later on reached a considerable pitch. The success of the operation and the treatment which has been accorded to the Mahatma by the hospital and jail authorities has resulted in a wave of popularity in

favour of the latter, particularly of Colonel Maddock. In connection with the Mahatma's illness a large number of Khilafat leaders have visited Poona including Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Ali, Bi-Aman (Bi-Amma), Dr. Kitchlew. Dr. Mahmood and Hakim Ajmal Khan.

January 18 was observed throughout the Presidency and Sind as a day of prayer for the recovery and release of Gandhi. In every place of any size meetings were held for this purpose. Five meetings were held in Bombay city alone on this subject the meeting on Chowpatty sands being attended by 5,000 people. Ahmedabad came next with a meeting in the Manek Chowk of 2,000 persons: a meeting of Mohammedans having been held at the same place in the Juma Masjid.

The general tone of the speeches was moderate, but a strong impression seemed to be present that Government would seize this opportunity of releasing the Mahatma. There is no doubt that owing to illness, 'Gandhi's stock is again at a premium.

page 103. Para 221. Setl. (12).

February 5. Bombay City S. B.—The news of Gandhi's release has not yet reached all parts of the city as it has been published by only a few newspapers so far, but wherever it has reached it is being received with the greatest delight and His Excellency the Governor is being complimented on his liberality since his arrival here. Even orthodox non-co-operators are delighted and say that the Swarajists have now nothing to fight for in the Legislative Assembly. As regards the cancellation of the proposed 'Gandhi month' (February 18 to March 18) nothing has yet been decided and it is not likely to be decided until the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meets in a day or two.

The Share Bazaar is closed by way of rejoicing. The share-brokers collected Rs. 500 on the spot to feed the cows. Sweets were also distributed.

The Bullion Bazaar and a few cotton associations at Sheikh Memon Street have stopped business.

The Cloth Markets and jewellery bazaars are closed on account of *Amavasya* holiday which falls today.

Mahomed Ali is issuing a message to the *Chronicle*. He left for Poona this morning, presumably to see Gandhi.

The illiterate have a story that as Gandhi's horoscope was inauspicious

for the next year or so. Government were afraid that he might die on their hands and bring them discredit.

Page 121. Pan 255, February 18: Poona.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was released on February 4.

Unconditionally, the unexpired portions of the three sentences of 2 years simple imprisonment, the sentences to be consecutive, passed upon him by the Sessions Court of Ahmedabad being remitted by Government.

Page 125, Para 526 (17. 18)

Sholapur. February 9.—A display of fireworks was given at Barshi by the municipality to celebrate the release of Gandhi. The bazaar was illuminated.

Meetings to celebrate the release were also held at Shoiapur, Pandharpur, Madha and Sangola. At the Shoiapur meeting a few caps and European clothes were burnt. No particular enthusiasm was aroused at these meetings.

M. K. GANDHI ON THE AKALI QUESTION

Poona, February 23.—Maulana Abul Azad Sobani who arrived on February 18, Lala Lajpatrai who arrived on February 21, and Pandit Metilal Nehru who arrived on February 23, were the three people of note who visited Gandhi during the week. It is learnt that the latter intends making a statement of his views on the Akali question as well as on two other points not known to my informer and then to retire from active politics until he is recovered.

Page 162, Para 336.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 6. The *Bombay Chronicle* of February 26 contains a message addressed by Gandhi to the Akaiis. In this he expresses his deep regret with regard to the catastrophe at Jaitu and his sympathy with the Akalis in their struggle for religious freedom. "Without full facts before me I am unable to say whether the march of a large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangsar at Jaitu was or was not justified." He goes on to warn the Akaiis against violence in any form—indeed his letter conveys the impression that he rather suspects the Akaiis of not being as entirely non-violent as they profess to be.

The general impression created by this letter was an unfavourable one, and it was supposed that Gandhi had misunderstood the situation owing to the incorrect information received from Lala Lajpatrai, who is at present in Poona.

An officer of this department reports that in discussing Gandhi's letter to the Akaiis to suspend the despatch of Jathas to Jaitu it is said that Gandhi had no business to send that letter to the Akaiis at Amritsar. He had not personally gone to the Punjab to study the situation. The Akaiis were right in disregarding his message, and if he were to meddle like this any more he would one day find himself thrown overboard.

Page 200, Para 402.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 14.—L. B. Bhopatkar having learnt of N. C. Kelkar's tactics to win over Gandhi (presumably the Gandhi-Nehru interview), wrote to the latter that Gandhi, though a great man of his age, was very slippery and did not like going back on his own word. whatever the consequences, as evinced by his conduct at the time of the Ahmedabad riots and the Chauri Chaura affair. It was, therefore, safe to keep him where he was.

Kelkar, in consultation with Pandit Motilal Nehru, wrote back that the Swarajists had already revolted against Gandhi, and there was therefore no reason to fear that they would play into his hands again. It was however, not safe to keep him where he was as a lot of mischief was being brewed in his name. Hence every effort should be made to lure him into the Swarajist fold, and so make mischief impossible.

Page 210, Para 419(a)(b).

Bombay City S. B., March 15. On the morning of March 11. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Shankarlal Ghelabhai Banker and Mrs. Anusuya alighted at Dadar railway station on his way to Andheri from Poona and motored to the bungalow of Narottam Morarji at Juhu near Andheri where he intends to stay for a couple of months.

Bombay Suburban Area, March 15.—Gandhi arrived at Juhu, Narotlam Morarji's bungalow, on March 11 at about 7 a.m. He has with him two

cooks, two servants, and" C. F. Andrews is acting as his private secretary. He interviews people daily between 4 and 6 p.m. but only by appointment, the appointments being made by Andrews.

Page 227, Para 452.

Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani on his return from Poona, where he had discussed the political situation with Gandhi says that Gandhi is not prepared to commit himself to any particular policy until he has had an opportunity of meeting C. R. Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Gandhi is, however, still opposed to Council entry.

Page 252, Para 515.

Bombay City S. B., March 29. M. K. Gandhi has decided to resume the editorship of *Young India* and *Navjivan* from the next week and has appealed to the public to turn their love for him to better account by taking up spinning and *khaddar* propaganda instead of visiting him. The circulation of *Young India* fell away from 21,500 to only 3,000 after Gandhi's imprisonment. For the convenience of the readers of these papers, an arrangement has been made to open a branch office at Princess Street, Bombay opposite Ashoka Stores, where copies of these papers will be on sale.

Page 259. Para 538.

Bombay Suburban Area, April 5.—On 1st, 2nd and 3rd Lala Lajpatrai, Motilal Nehru and N. C. Kelkar interviewed Gandhi at Juhu. It is said that the subject of discussion was Hindu-Muslim unity.

Page 280, Para 580-A.

S. B.. Bombay Presidency. Poona, April 23rd. The following appeared in *Young India* of April 17. 1924.

"Talks with Leaders "

Statements have appeared in the Press about the talks between the Swarajist leaders and myself. I ask the readers to discount them as altogether premature. No final conclusions have been reached, Mr. C. R. Das has not even been able to attend these talks and as he has been asked by his medical advisers to take prolonged rest, he may not be able to come at all. In no case is it possible to make any statement before the views of Mr. Das and other friends are known.

I understand that the workers are hesitating because of the suspense caused by the talks and the confusion caused by unauthorised journalistic ventures. I would ask the workers not to worry over the result of the talk. I can give them my assurance that there is not the slightest likelihood of any change being advocated by me in the constructive programme. Anyone therefore suspending his activity in that direction will make a grievous blunder and the progress of the constructive work which needs all the time of all the workers that can be got together for the work.

Page 310. Para 642-A.

S. B.. Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 9. Regarding conversations at Juhu between Gandhi and the Swarajists, information is received that it is decided that the *status quo* should be maintained by both wings of the Congress until fresh developments take place in England. In short, there is to be no change in the attitude of the two parties until Lala Lajpatrai returned to India and there is a fresh election. Any change before that would be uncalled for and unproductive.

Page 353, Para 747.

Bombay City S. B., May 20.—C. R. Das arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail on May 15 and proceeded straight to Juhu in the Bombay Sub-burban District. A great deal of interest has been taken in Bombay in the progress of the conversations between him and M. K. Gandhi. It is understood that on May 17, Pandit Motilal Nehru and T. A. K. Sherwani (latter representing Khilafat interests) were present with the two leaders.

The two chief topics on this day were *A'himsa* and Hindu-Muslim unity. The chief point at issue was whether the Swaraj Party tactics offended against the doctrine of *Ahimsa*.

On May 18, it is understood that Dr. Munje, the C. P. obstructor, and M. R. Jayakar, Swaraj Party leader in the Bombay Legislative Council were present at the discussions between Das, Nehru and Gandhi. The last remained unshaken in his conviction of the continued necessity of the triple boycott (Councils, Courts and Colleges) and of the constructive programme; but he advised the Swarajists that having entered the Councils they had better co-operate, accept ministerships, and carry on the Government instead of merely obstructing. The Swarajists definitely refused to take this advice and Dr. Munje went so far as to say that even if the other Swarajists deserted him he was resolved to break the Council.

So far as can be gathered the final conclusion arrived at by the Swarajists in view of M. K. Gandhi's criticism and advice is to co-operate in the Councils in certain ways but on no account to accept ministerships. Thus they will accept appointments on all committees, will move resolutions tending to assist the constructive programme of the Congress, and will move bills in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils. Gandhi on his part, it is believed, will watch events until the next Congress at Belgaum at the end of the year.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 28.—The *Mahratta* of May 25 has a leader devoted to the recent discussions between Gandhi and the Swaraj Party, on the question of Council entry. The paper regards the final questions between the parties as satisfactory. "The Swaraj Party leaders, true to their faith in actual practical work, have boldly put an end to the slavery of words which held the country in subjection so long. The spell is at last broken. If the battle of freedom cannot be adequately fought by the rigours of loyalty to a formula of words or even spiritual dogmas, it is better to bid good-bye to them than to be stagnant or to go retrograde on down-ward incline."

Page 372, Para 789-A.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 5.—*Young India* on May 29 contains a long article by Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim tension. The impression one gathers from the article is that the Mahatma has fallen between two stools. The Hindus, he says, attack him for supporting the Mahommedans and encouraging them to commit outrages and oppression on the Hindus in Malabar, Multan and other places. The Mahommedans attack him for having wrecked their educational system and for having led them into a *cul-de-sac* over the Khilafat questions.

The Mahatma pleads not guilty to both charges and adds that he is totally unrepchlant. "Had I been a prophet and foreseen all that has happened I should have still thrown myself into the Khilafat agitation." The cause of the differences, he says, is that the Mahommedan is a bully and the Hindu

a coward. Neither of these types of persons can be truly non-violent. He concludes by asking the two communities not to insist upon their respective claims for consideration but to trust: one, another.

Page 401, Para 863.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 14.—Alluding to the decline in the sale of the *Young India* and *Navjivan* newspapers, M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Young India* of May 15:

"My editing, though it has somewhat increased the number of subscribers, has not made any material increase. The papers are by no means as popular as they were before, perhaps because of the subsidence of excitement. *Young India* and *Hindi Navjivan* have not yet begun to pay their way and unless English readers of *Young India* and Hindi readers of *Hindi Navjivan* interest themselves in the upkeep of these weeklies and secure more subscribers. the question of stopping them may soon arise."

Page 468. Para 1022.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 21. *Young India* of July 17 contains the following paragraph written by Gandhi apparently without any idea of double entente:— "Sarojini the Singer... For, though I believe that I can contribute my humble share in the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity in many respects she can do much better. She intimately knows more Musalmans than I do. She has access to their hearts which I cannot pretend to. And to these qualifications her sex which is her strongest qualification in which no man can approach her."

Page 534, Para 1186.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, August 25.—In connection with the efforts that are being made by M. K. Gandhi to win over the Swarajists through Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, N. C. Kelkar has said that no compromise is possible with his party until their programme is openly recognised as part of the Congress programme.

Page 565, Para 1260(8).

Bombay City S. B., August 30.—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by his son, Devidas and his secretary, arrived in Bombay at the Grant Road railway station on the morning of August 29. Very heavy rain was falling at the time and there were only about 50 persons headed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and J. G. Nensey, the secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, to meet him. From the station the guests motored to Laburnum Road to the bungalow of Rewashankar Jagjiwan, a Gujarati jeweller, with whom Gandhi is staying while in Bombay.

The same evening the Corporation Address to M. K. Gandhi was pre-sented at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall. The hall accommodates 1,200 people and was crowded to the fullest extent in spite of the weather being wet. About 2,000 people had to wait outside. After the reading of the Corporation Address Gandhi made a short speech, first in Gujarati and then in English, saying that he recognised no distinction between religion and politics and that politics without religion was dangerous. The proceedings lasted only half an hour, both the address and the reply being brief.

Next day (August 30) Gandhi visited the national school at Princess Street and spoke on *khaddar* and the spinning-wheel. From there he went at 4 p.m. to a ladies' meeting in the Marwadi Vidyalaya hall under the *Rashtriya Stree Sabha* auspices, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding. About 500

ladies attended. On this Occasion two purses were banded, over to Gandhi one amounting to Rs. 1,000 from the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee and the other amounting to Rs. 4,536-9-0 from the *Rashiriya Stree*

Sabha. A collection was taken for the sufferers from the Malabar floods and about Rs. 500 were taken.

Page 568, Para 1270.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poorta, September 10.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on the morning of September 4, having alighted from the train at Chinchwad, Haveli Taluka, visited the *pathshala* there and finished his journey by motor. At 8-30 a.m., he unveiled the bust of the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in the Reay market. The bust had been prepared under the supervision of the Chief of Aundh. Although the affan was a municipal one the funds were collected by subscription and no expenditure to the municipality in this connection took place. The audience was a large one and amongst those present were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. S. M. Paranjpe, C. V. Vaidya, L. B. Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale. B. S. Kamal. K. R. Kanitkar and W. V. Dastane, S. G. Lavate—Vice President of the municipality—read his opening speech in which there was nothing of note. Gandhi then unveiled the bust with some eulogistic remarks regarding Chiplunkar and Maharashtra. In the course of his speech, however, he reproached Maharashtra for its want of faith. This reproach is faithfully dealt with in the *Mahratta* of September 7: "If he intends by faith. some, kind of political faith we are proud that Maharashtra has as good as a feast. If. on the other hand, by faith he means faith in his special pro- gramme, Maharashtra will have none of it so long as it continues to be what it is. " The audience was by no means as enthusiastic as it had been on the occasion of the unveiling of the Tilak statue. It was noticed that S. M. Paranjpe who formerly had been Gandhi's chief protagonist in Poona, instead of being near the Mahatma, was standing at a considerable. distance away and refused to join the elite when asked to do so. Presumably S. M. Paranjpe thinks that Gandhi has let him down by temporising with the Swarajist enemy.

Gandhi visited the Servants of India Society's home during the course of the morning and later on had a private conversation with some members of the Swaraj party in Gaikwad Wada.

In the afternoon he visited the *Seva Sudan*, spoke at a ladies' meeting received *pan-supari* from the non-Brahmins at *Jedhe Mansion* (exhortin. them not to show hatred in their search for truth) and also received *pan-supari* from the untouchables in the *Ahilyashram*.

At 5-30 p.m. he attended the convocation ceremony of the *Tilak Malm Vidyalyaya*, C. V. Vaidya, chancellor of the institution, presided. D. R. Gharpure, registrar, read out the annual report and message from Dr. Kurta koti to the successful students. Dr. Kurtakoti is the *kul-guru* of the *vidyalaya*.

Gandhi then addressed the students. He said he was embarrassed, being. an uneducated man in the presence of much learning. He said that the chief aim of such institutions should be to fit their students to struggle for *swarajya*. He related how, when he was in England two days after. the out break of the Great War, he saw all the inns of courts, schools and colleges emptied of their students who had all gone to join the forces in some ways could not yet be compared with Government ones. But after all their aim was character rather than education. He urged spinning.

He advised the students to use their own vernacular in preference to English. He appealed to the students to make the institution a living and prosperous one.

At about 9-30 p.m. M. K. Gandhi spoke to a large meeting of about 10,000 persons in the Reay market. Amongst those present were G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum, Ramkrishnadas Buwa of Sangamner and all the no change leaders. S. M. Paranjpe presided. Gandhi's speech was not one calculated to ingratiate him with his audience. He began by asking those present why they had not obtained *swarajya* and by demanding of them an account of the work they had done during the last two years. *Swarajya* could not be obtained by holding big meetings. What about conditions laid down and accepted by them at Calcutta, Nagpur and Ahmedabad? One of the conditions was that meetings should be conducted peacefully. (This was an allusion to the perpetual uproar that was going on while the meeting was in progress). Tilak's message "Swaraj is my birthright" was incomplete. Lokamanya had omitted to add, "the way to achieve it is by *khaddar*." He then went on to describe all the beauties of this product and reproached the citizens of Poona for their slackness in this respect. "There was small shop of *khadi* in Poona; I hear that it had to be closed or was about to be closed. Could you not purchase a few thousand rupees worth of *khadi*? Have you performed your duty? "

Turning to the Congress men, he said that all their efforts, their deputations to England, their propaganda in America and their demand for *swarajya*, were useless unless they used *khaddar*. He reiterated his statement that Maharashtra in spite of its capabilities had no faith. He then passed on to discuss untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity in his usual style. As long as Hindus and Mohammedans were busy breaking one another's heads so long would they have a foreign Government ruling over them. He said that he did not want to fight with Motilal Nehru or N. C. Kelkar. If they wished him to remain in the Congress he would remain: if they wished him to leave it he would leave it. "I committed a great mistake at the last All-India Congress Committee meeting at Ahmedabad in hoping to be able to do some work by securing a majority of votes to my side ".

The proceedings terminated after Gandhi had been garlanded and he left at once for Bombay.

Before the meeting certain leaflets apparently emanating from the Loksangraha Press were circulated. They were headed "Ask Mahatmajji the following question." The questions were almost entirely concerned with Hindu-Muslim differences, with particular reference to the recent disturbances in Gulbarga. They were most of them questions which Gandhi might have found difficult to answer. The subject of untouchability was also mentioned and the fact that the Congress, in which non-Hindus are included, interferes in Hindu communal matters is criticised. Although the leaflets were freely circulated.

S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 11*.—It now appears that Gandhi was requested to visit Poona, to unveil the bust of the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, by Professor Gharpure of the Tilak Maha Vidyalaya with the previous sanction of N. C. Kelkar. Gandhi however accepted the invitation not so much for the honour intended, but because it gave him an opportunity to have private conversations with the Poona Swarajists who were not prepared to meet him on their own account. The substance of the talk he had with L. B. Bhopatkar and others in the Gaikwad wada

on September 4 is that he admitted the correctness of what the Swarajists were doing in the Councils and expressed his approval of their methods; but pointed out his extreme inability openly to support Council-entry after he had been so loud in trumpeting his five boycotts. In fact he importuned them not to force him to climb down to that extent. He has however, promised them that he will not oppose Council-entry at Belgaum but will remain quiet on that question, and thus allow the Swarajists to get their resolution regarding Council entry passed by a majority. He will advise No-Changers who have no conscientious objection. to support the resolution in the Congress.

To the No Changers, including S. M. Paranjpe, he said that they had practically done no work while they were advocating his constructive programme; that the Swarajists, who they opposed and derided, were doing some useful work apart from the question whether that work was or was not going to benefit India in the near future and that they should not oppose the Swarajists if the latter stand for election to the various Congress organisations in November next. He condemned the methods, employed last year by the No Changers to secure the different Congress offices. No one apparently had the nerve to put the suggested questions to Gandhi.

Gandhi visited S. M. Paranjpe at his house in the course of the morning and this may explain why S. M. Paranjpe after keeping in the back-ground at the unveiling yet came forward to preside at the evening meeting

Page 577, Para 1294(5).

Bombay Suburban Area, September 6.—On September 2, the Ville Parle Congress Committee held a meeting in the Ville Parle National School compound with the object of collecting money for the Malabar relief Fund. It was attended by about 800 and Gandhi, accompanied by Vithalbhai J. Patel, was also present. After some songs of welcome had been sung by the *Andheri Gurukul School-boys*, V. J. Patel introduced Gandhi to the audience and the hat was passed round, Rs. 600 being collected and 10 seers of yarn of about the same value. Gandhi then spoke a few words, saying *swaraj* can only be obtained by spinning yarn and removing the ban of untouchability.

Page 578, Para 1294(12).

Bombay City S. B., September 5.—A large public meeting was organised by the *Parsi Rajkiya Sabha* in the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on the morning of Sunday, August 31. The meeting had two objects, firstly to honour M. K. Gandhi, and secondly to raise money for Malabar Relief. Admission was by ticket, from the sale of nearly Rs. 4,000 were realised. In addition, M. R. Jayakar, contributed a thousand, and other contributions amounting to a thousand were received. The attendance was about 1,500. Messrs Jayakar, Vimadalal. Pickthall, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and B. F. Bharucha. also Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others spoke in praise of Mr. Gandhi. The audience signified their displeasure at Jamnadas Dwarkadas referring to the guest of honour as "*Gandhiji*" instead of as "*Mahatma*" and when it came to his turn to speak Gandhi vigorously upbraided the audience for their conduct. He went on to say that he objected to intolerance of every sort and that he could not bring himself to hate even Dyer or O'Dwyer although he did not like things they had done. As regards Malabar relief they could have every reliance that the money would be well spent by G. K. Devdhar who was administering relief funds. After speaking for about 40 minutes in Gujarati he spoke for five minutes in English and said

he had a terrible side to his nature, which had estranged his friends, his dear wife, his own son and his own brother. He also had a side to his nature which was compounded of nothing but affection. There was no ill-will and no hatred in it. If he had offended the Englishmen, with whom he had worked in South Africa, it was because he loved them as much as he loved his own people; but they had to feel the terrible side of his nature, just as his own people had had to. Alluding to the controversy between him and the Swarajists he said it was his fixed resolved that neither in Belgaum nor here would there be any effort on his part to divide the country; if there was any question of dividing the country he would be the under-dog and be no party to it.

The same afternoon at 3 p.m. Gandhi met the members of Provincial Congress Committee at their office when most of the members were present. The secretary read out the names of those members who had sent in the right amount of yarn. Questions were invited and Dr. Savarkar and J. B. Patel questioned his strictness in regard to the spinning requisition. Gandhi said he could solve all their difficulties with a single answer. If they were members of an institution, they were bound to carry out that institution's rules and regulations. If they could not do so they stood self condemned. In short, his advice to them was to carry out the spinning resolution.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi presided over a prize distribution at Muzaffarabad Hall of the Girls' National School. About 150 parents and guardians were present. Mrs. Naidu gave away the prizes. Miss Tulaskar the principal. described their difficulties which had resulted in the school numbers falling off from 370 to 150. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction at seeing four *Chamar* boys who were being educated in the school. He appealed to the people not to be scared away but to show their faith in the removal of untouchability by continuing to send their children to the school.

On Tuesday, 2nd September, Gandhi visited the *Khadi Bhandar* at Princess Street. In the evening he paid a brief visit to the National Medical College where he appealed for *khaddar* and for contributions to the institution.

At 9 p.m. the same evening he attended a meeting organized in his honour by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held in the godown of Ramchandra Ramvallabh in Dhana Bunder. Mrs. Naidu presided and the attendance was about 5,000. Mrs. Naidu said it was not necessary for a lot of people to speak that evening. She would ask the audience to hear Mahatma Gandhi whom they were anxious to see and listen to. Gandhi said he had no message for them other than the message of 1920-21. The Congress was divided and the people were downhearted. Their differences were unfortunate as they had a common object. Rather than have a continuance of the quarrel he would admit his defeat. He had written in this sense to Pandit Motilal Nehru and hoped for a perfect unity at the next Congress. He expected the people to use *khaddar*, to ply the *charkha*, and to observe the Hindu-Moslem amity. He also wanted them to do away with untouchability. If people were unable to do any of these things, he would have no alternative but to return to his *ashram* and do penance.

Gandhi left Bombay by the night train on September 3 for Poona and arrived back at Dadar on the morning of September 5 where he visited the Ganpati *mandap* and addressed an audience of 500. He said he gathered that the public were not in a determined mood to carry out his programme although they were anxious for *swaraj*. He did not mind others entering

Councils or sending their children to any schools they fancied; but he did expect everybody to carry out his tripartite programme of *khaddar*, Hindu-Muslim amity and the removal of untouchability. He asked for a show of hands of those who acted up to the programme on these points. A very small number of hands were raised. He said he was sorry to see them in that state and asked them to take his advice to heart. After receiving a purse of Rs. 51, some yarn and clothes for Malabar relief he left for Surat by the 7-45 a.m. train.

Page 581, Para 1302(2).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 17.—In an article headed "The Realities" in *Young India* of September 11 (also quoted in *Bombay Chronicle* of September 13), M. K. Gandhi announce a change in his policy. Briefly his proposals are these: —

- (1) The suspension of all boycotts except that of foreign cloth until 1925.
- (2) Subject to (1), the removal of the boycott of Empire Goods.
- (3) The confinement of Congress activities solely to hand spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the removal of untouchability.
- (4) The maintenance of the existing national educational institutions, and if possible their expansion.
- (5) The removal of the four-anna franchise for Congress membership and the substitution as qualification for membership of spinning for half an hour per day and delivery to the Congress from month to month of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn.

The implications of these proposals are: —

- (1) That the Swarajists should be free to organise themselves without any opposition from the Congress or No Changers.
- (2) That the No Change party will not carry on any propaganda direct or indirect against Council-entry.
- (3) That members of other political bodies should be induced to join the Congress.
- (4) That those who do not personally believe in any of the four boycotts will be free to act as if they did not exist.

"The Congress...was intended to be the most democratic in the world, and if successfully worked to bring *swaraj* without more. But it was not so worked. We have not sufficient honest and able workers. It must be confessed that it has broken down. We never had even one crore of members on the roll. At the present moment probably our nominal roll does not exceed two lakhs for All India, and the vast majority of these too are as a rule not interested in our proceedings save for paying four annas and voting Mine is a constitutional surrender. All I know is that there is no fight left in me. I have fought my dearest ones. But I fight out of love. But I must first prove my love I see I was wrong. I am therefore retracing my steps."

It is improbable that this surrender, which it undoubtedly is will have the effect expected by Gandhi. The Swarajists will merely consider it to be a further confession of weakness. The Mahatma will find that he has sacrificed his friends and his political faith in the vain attempt to secure that unity within the Congress which he so much desires.

The *Mahratta* of September 14 recognizes the surrender as a *noble one*. "History records rare instances of such splendid example of self-surrender at the revelation of mistakes and blunders. Such confession of failures

demands a great moral courage because it satisfies none and engenders the reaction even in followers. He has again repeated what he so often urged that non-violence is more important than non-co-operation, and latter without the former is a sin. To our mind the philosophy underlying Mahatmaji's interpretation of non violence or non-co-operation is absolutely wrong. At least we do not believe in it and have therefore no *shraddha* or faith in it He wishes to convert the Congress into a non-political organization of spinners in order to train the people to non-violence as he understands it"

The article derides Gandhi's plans for the unification of rich and poor by the allotment to the form menial tasks and heart-breaking labour. The rich, it says, take no interest in politics because they already have what they want. The poor take no interest in politics because they have no time for them. It is the middle classes alone that have the leisure and inclination to fight the political battles of a nation. The proposals by themselves have thus no solid basis to rest on. "We need not repeat here that the Congress is mainly intended for political work, and politics is its life. It is no use connecting it with the thread of the spinning-wheel, because the thread will not stand the strain. Unity between Hindus and Muslims, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, employers and labourers, landlords and tenants, demand special organisation and attention The problems are eternal social problems. The Congress is not the proper field for it, it being mainly political. So far as we are concerned we cannot accept the proposals of Mahatmaji. We cannot be a party to this national suicide. Under the Mahatma's proposals all parties would unite, but they will unite to sing the funeral orations over the political Congress of old.

Page 613, Para 1378.

(4) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 30.*—A meeting to beg Gandhi to abstain from his fast was held in Poona city on September 23. About 600 persons were present and S. G. Lavate presided. The principal speakers were S. M. Paranjpe, J. S. Karandikar, Mrs. Indurnatibai Naik. Dr. V. C. Gokhale, Dr. Zakaria, Vastad Ghulam Dastagir, Baburao Moti-walla, Balurao Jagtap, Headmaster, Shivaji High School, and Shripatrao Shinde.

A resolution was passed to the aboye effect. J. S. Karandikar said that as Hindu-Muslim unity was the object of Gandhi's fast, so a prominent Mohammedan should have observed a similar fast.

Dr. V. C. Gokhale said that the question of *swarajya* had depended entirely on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Dr. Zakaria, speaking in English, said that Hindu-Muslim differences were deplored not only by the members of those communities, but by followers of other religions, and even by people whose native-country was not India. Unity in politics could never be expected but the communities could at least agree to differ.

Ghulam Dastagir in a characteristic speech said that some men and newspapers of Poona were also responsible for the present tension. (Here he was about to make some damaging revelations, but was consequently stopped by the other people from the platform). He went on to show how neither Hindus nor Mahomedans benefited by inter-communal differences. Speaking of the Gulburga riots he said that in order to frustrate the claim made by H.E.H. the Nizam for the Berars certain people in the

dress of Hindus and Mohammedans were sent to Gulberga from the Residency to create the disturbances. These men were caught and were being tried. Instead of fighting amongst themselves they should use their united strength against the people who caused the riots.

(4-a) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 30.*—Information has reached Poona that Mohamed Ali, when requesting Gandhi to terminate his fast, referred to the Swarajists victories in the Assembly and pointed out that these methods were the only ones that seemed to be of any use in the struggle for freedom, and that non-co-operation had turned out to be a failure. He, therefore, advised the Mahatma that he should give his unqualified approval to the Swarajists' tactics and that non-co-operation should be dropped. He also pointed out that the fast was not likely to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. It might create a temporary alliance, but Hindu-Muslim "heart unity" would not be attainable for several years to come.

Gandhi, it is said, was very much impressed by this frank talk and it is possible that he may indulge in a further climb-down before Belgaum.

The Poona people are amused at the fast and ribald tongues art saying that it has been instituted by Gandhi in order to commit suicide so that he may avoid a further downfall.

Page 628, Para 1420.

(9) *Satara, September 27.*—On September 21 a meeting was held at Wai presided over by Narayan Sadashiv Marathe of Wai. A resolution was passed praying for Gandhi's life and requesting him to give up his fast.

Page 641, Para. 1454.

(4) *West Khandesh, October 4.*—A meeting was convened at Pachora presided over by Maulvi Abdulla of Jamner. One Eknath Vasudev Kshire addressed 200 Hindus and Mahommedans with regard to Gandhi's last and Hindu-Muslim unity. A telegram concerning the meeting was sent to M. K. Gandhi. The effect of the meeting was to establish good relations between the Hindus and Mahommedans, and the reports are that this was accomplished.

A similar meeting was held at Bodwad on September 30, attended by 125 persons mostly Mahommedans. The organiser, president and speaker was Hamjekhan Nawajkhan of Nandura, Central Provinces.

(5") *Sholapur, October 4.*—Public meetings were held in Sholapur. Barsi and Pandharpur on September 25, 28 and 29 under the presidentship of Ram-chandra Moreshwar Sane at Barshi; Rangnath Vishnu Lalit. pleader at Sholapur, and Ganesh Eknath Kowlgi at Pandharpur. Resolutions were passed that there existed unity between Hindus and Mahommedans and that Gandhi should be requested to break his fast. These were only paper resolutions and perfect unity cannot be said to have been effected between the two communities.

(6) *Satara, October 4.*—Two meetings have been held in Satara on September 26 and 28, and one in Karad on September 30 in connection with Gandhi's fast. Resolutions were passed on the object of the unity of Hindus and Mahommedans. The attendance at all the meetings was small the audience consisting mostly of Brahmins.

(7)(2) *Khanapur, September 26.*—The attendance was 30. All Brahmins.

Page 652, Para 1477

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 21.—The following appears (M. K. Gandhi) in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 17th instant:

MAHATMA

Delhi, October 15

Mr. Gandhi is now fairly progressing towards complete recovery and it is expected that he will be in a position to undertake his contemplated journey to Kohat after a fortnight or three weeks. During the last two or three days he had important conversations with leaders of the different communities and parties. It is understood that the Swarajists are now negotiating with Mr. Gandhi for rescinding the Ahmedabad resolutions which requires every member of the All India Congress Committee and other officials of the Congress spin monthly two thousand yards of yarn.

Page 658, Para 1491.

(7)*Thana, October 11.*—Meetings were held at Thana and Kalyan on October 7 and 8 in thanksgiving for Gandhi having safely completed his 21 days fast.

(8)*Ahmednagar, October 11.*—A meeting to pray for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast was held at Parner on October 7: unity and adherence to the Congress creed was urged upon the audience.

(9)*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 21.*—A public meeting attended by about 1,000 persons was held in Poona City on October 8, under the presidentship of N. C. Kelkar. The object of the meeting was to express gratitude to God, for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast and to support the decisions arrived at by the Unity Conference. The speakers were S. G. Lavate, T. H. Avte, D. V. Gokhale, S. D. Deo, L. B. Bhopatkar, S. K. Damle, Gulam Mohiddin, Abdulla Isac and G. K. Deodhar. The speeches were unremarkable, except that of S. K. Damle who said that riots at Gulbarga and other places must have been engineered by some third party which was against ceding the Berars to His Highness the Nizam and whose hostility had been aroused by the action taken by the Legislative Assembly regarding the Lee Commission Report.

Abdulla Isac said that Mohammedans were not really beef-eaters but that Hindus and Europeans consumed the greatest quantity of this food. This remark apparently being not well received by the audience the speaker changed his version and said that the *Mahars* and *Mangs* were the chief beef-eaters, particularly when converted to the Islamic faith.

(12)*Ratnagiri, October 11.*—A meeting attended by about 60 people was held at Malwan on October 2, to pray for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast.

(13)*Kolaba, October 11.*—A meeting was held on October 8, at Alibag under the presidentship of Wasudev Krishna Dhebri, pleader, in connection with Gandhi's successful fast and the resolution passed at the Delhi Unity Conference. About 60 attended. M. R. Gosavi said that Gandhi had observed a 21 day's fast in order to bring about unity and, therefore, moved a resolution to the effect that Mohammedans should stop cow-slaughter, and that Alibag people should approve of the Unity resolution passed by the 400 Hindu-Muslim leaders at the Delhi Unity Conference. Khan Saheb Mohammed Inus said that in Alibag Hindus and Mohammedans already lived in harmony: that cow-slaughter never occurred and, therefore, there was no necessity for passing any such resolution. Yeshwant Govind Gujar,

Janardhan Vishnu Lele, pleader, and P. Nagardas Gujar in speaking supported him. But Kashinath Waman Kunte, pleader, and Damodar Gopal Dhabu, pleader, insisted on the resolution being passed, which was eventually carried unanimously.

Page 677, Para 1533

Ahmednagar, October 18.—A meeting of 200 persons was held at Sangam-ner of October 8 to celebrate the termination of Gandhi's fast.

A similar meeting attended by 250 persons was held at Kopargaon on the same day.

Celebrations were also held in Ahmednagar city.

Satara, October 15.—The eight of October, the day Gandhi broke his fast, was celebrated in Satara by a public meeting at which about 185 Brahmins, 10 Mahrattas, 2 Mohammedans and 3 Marwaris were present. R. G. Soman, pleader, was in the chair. The resolutions of the Delhi Conference were supported.

Page 753, Para 1703(6).

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 3. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari arrived in Bombay from Delhi on November 20 at 6 a.m. He held private discussions at his residence at Gamdevi regarding the items which would form the subject matter of discussion at the All-India Congress Committee meeting and the Leaders Conference to be held on the following day and the day after. The following leaders were present.

C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, M. R. Jayakar, Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shankarlal Bankar, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Konda Venkattappa.

The main point of discussion was the alteration of the Congress Programme in such a way as to bring on the Congress platform all the parties that have seceded from the Congress. Gandhi said that so far as he was concerned he had made sufficient concessions in the alteration of the programme as laid down in the joint statement issued by him. Das and Nehru and that it was not possible for him to do any thing more consistent with his political convictions and self-respect. He said that if the item of spinning franchise were the bone of contention between the Liberals and the Congressmen he for one would not give in, but if the *swarajists* liked to gain the support of the liberals for Councils propaganda, they should try to bring about a settlement with them, but if the spinning clause were set aside he would not preside at the Belgaum Congress. He would, however, not leave the Congress for ever, but would continue as its member and would keep under his charge departments such as Hindu-Muslim unity, *khaddar* and untouchability while the other functions of the Congress would be performed by the party in majority. As regards bringing the Liberals on the common platform, Gandhi said that they should decide in the first instance the definition of *swaraj*—particularly whether *swaraj* should be within the Empire or without. His own suggestion was that *swaraj* should be their goal within the Empire if possible or without it if necessary—thereby meaning that the first alternative would bring the Liberal into a common fold and throw responsibility on Englishmen of discharging their duties keeping the goal of the Indians in mind. C. R. Das said that he was also ready to make as many concessions to the Liberals as were consistent with his party's principles and if the Liberals accepted them, the

will of the party that would be in majority would be executed. Shankarlal Banker said that the No-Changers were also prepared to give fair trial to the Swarajists for sometime and that all of them should agree to present an united front to the bureaucracy. Gandhi then said that C. R. Das should try to settle their differences within the Liberals because it was the Swaraj Party which would require the Liberals assistance in the Councils. He would also consult the No-Changers on the basis of a common programme and then draw up a resolution so as to suit all the parties at the Conference.

Gandhi advised all present that the question of the Bengal Ordinance should be set aside for the time being till the difference between the Liberals and the Swarajists are settled.

A private meeting of Managing Committee of the non-Brahmin Backward classes was held under the auspices of the peoples' union at 7 p.m. on November 19, at Vandekars Mansions, Lamington Road, S. K. Bole, R. V. Vandekar, A. N. Surve, R. S. Asavle and Pandurang Javji were present. They decided that those who had received invitations should attend the Bombay Leaders Conference at Muzaffarabad Hall on November 21 and 22 in their personal capacity but they should express the fundamental differences that existed between the Backward classes, whose goal was to attain *swaraj* within the British Empire by constitutional means, and the extremist parties. They further decided to give an address to his Excellency, the Viceroy on December 4, 1924. In the afternoon of November 20, Gandhi had lengthy interview with C. Y. Chintamani and Rao Bahadur Dhule of the National Liberal Federation. Gandhi expressed his willingness to give to the Liberals every possible latitude to rejoin the Congress and said that the proposed new creed of the Congress, namely, *swaraj* within the Empire if possible and without it if necessary should be acceptable to the Liberals. With regard to the spinning franchise he said that he had already conceded much, to the disappointment of the No-Changers. Chintamani showed the telegram which he had received from the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri to the effect that the Liberals could not reasonably join the Congress unless Gandhi abandoned the non-co-operation instead of suspending the same and unless the Congress programme were thoroughly overhauled. Chintamani replied that he would place his views before the meeting of the Federation that was to be held that evening though he made it clear that he was not very hopeful of bringing the Liberals round owing to fundamental differences.

Gandhi then held a consultation with the No-Changers, namely, S. G. Banker, Vallabhabhai J. Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Konda Venkattappa and G. B. Deshpande. These No-Changers emphasised the importance of maintaining the *khaddar* programme though for the sake of unity they were prepared to accept Gandhi's proposals to bring together all the parties on a common platform.

The Working Committee of the Congress met on November at 8-30 a.m. in Gandhi's house. The following members were present: —

Mohamed Ali, M. K. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, Konda Venkattappa, G. B. Deshpande, Vallabhabhai J. Patel and S. G. Banker.

After disposing of unimportant items of a routine and administrative character on the agenda, the Working Committee of the Congress resumed discussion on items 2 and 3 of the agenda, viz., (1) to consider present political situation in the country and (2) the programme to be placed before the Congress.

Gandhi suggested that there being no two opinions on the question, it would be in the fitness of things to place before that Conference a resolution which should be acceptable to all the parties in the Conference. He argued that if they handled other questions such as the creed of the Congress and the spinning franchise there might arise disagreement which would be prejudicial to the main object of calling the Conference. Gandhi therefore suggested that instead of taking a hazardous step of placing a resolution drafted by the Working Committee they should ask the Conference to appoint a representative committee to deal with the repressive policy of the Government of India. The members of the Working Committee unanimously agreed to this suggestion.

Page 754-55, Para 1703(6).

(b) Gandhi and his party then left for the Muzafi'arabad Hall to attend the Party Conference at 4 p.m. The proceedings of the Party Conference commenced at the appointed time and nearly 275 members of the All-India Congress Committee and about 200 persons of different political parties and outsiders attended the Conference. About 50 persons belong to no party such as solicitors, doctors and merchants were also present. Prominent amongst those present were M. K. Gandhi, Mohomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Lady Emmily Lutyens. The Right Hon. Mr. Sastri, Shri Dinshaw Petit, Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. Y. Chintamani B. S. Kamat, Vithalbhai J. Patel, Vdiabhbhai J. Patel, M. A. Jinnah, M. R. Jayakar, C. R. Das, G. B. Deshpande, A. N. Survey, B. C. Pal, J. B. Petit, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Kanji Dwarkadas, Sir Purshottam Thakordas,

C. R. Reddy, S. Satyamurthy, K. P. Khadiikar, K. F. Nanman, B. N. Motiwala, K. Natrajan, Marmaduke Pickthall, B. Chakravati, Dr. Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad. Hon. Mr. Sethna, Dr. Sukhia, Hakim Ajmal Khan S. A. Brelvi, M. K. Patel, and N. D. Savarkar.

Mohamed Ali, as President of the Congress, opened the Conference by welcoming the representatives of different political parties and suggesting that Sir Dinshaw Petit be elected the Chairman of the Conference as he belonged to no party. His suggestion was accepted and Sir Dinshaw Petit took the chair. After introductory remarks by the Chairman, Gandhi proposed the following resolution:—

"That a small committee, consisting of the leaders of the several parties represented at the Conference be appointed for the preparation of a draft resolution for submission to the Conference, with reference to the repressive measures adopted by the Government of India, the committee to report to the Chairman at or about 10 p.m. what resolution they would frame".

Pandit Motilal Nehru seconded the resolution. R. Venkatram ex-Assistant Editor of the *Chronicle*, opposed it. Mr. K. Natrajan supported the resolution. Mrs. Besant in a speech tried to justify the passing of the ordinance. Mrs. Besant was immediately attacked by Pandit M. Malaviya and S. Satyamurthy. A. N. Surve objected to Gandhi's resolution being allowed the first place on the agenda of the day on the grounds that the principal business before the Conference was the unity of all parties and that the question should have been taken up first. He found one or two supporters of his views. Gandhi replied that the object of putting his resolution first was to see whether it was possible for them to come to a common decision which was acceptable to all. He argued that if it was possible for them to agree to his proposition, would then be possible for them to find a common platform.

Babu Girish Chunder complained that if the Conference was supposed to be an All-Party Conference the Communist Party should have been invited to the Conference. Mrs. Naidu replied that two invitation cards had already been issued to the individuals represented by the paper *Socialist* in Bombay.

Eventually Gandhi's resolution was put to the vote and carried by a majority. The following committee was appointed to draft the resolution:

Sir Dinshaw Petit, M. K. Gandhi, V. J. Patel, C. R. Das, Mrs. Besant, Shrinivas Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, M. A. Jinnah, J. B. Petit, C. R. Reddy, B. C. Pal, Motilal Nehru, Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Lala Harikishen, Lal, K. Natrajan, A. N. Surve, Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Dr. B. S. Munje, Dr. Ansari. Abul Kalam Azad, B. S. Kamat and C. V. Narshinha Raju.

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the above committee which will be discussed by the Conference this afternoon: —

(a) While firmly of opinion that anarchical organisation can never secure *swaraj* to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisation if any, this Conference representing all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion, views with strongest disapproval and condemns the action of the Governor General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the legislature and as it easily lends itself, at the hands of the executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated.

(b) This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of the ordinance and the trial, if necessary, and in accordance with the ordinary law of the persons detained under it.

(c) This Conference further urges that Regulation III of 1813 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected

of public crimes without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn.

(d) This Conference records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights long overdue of the people, and that the speedy establishment of *swaraj* is the only effective remedy therefor.

The second day's proceedings of the All-Party- Conference commenced at 12 noon on November 22 at Muzaffarabad Hall under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri in the absence of Sir Dinshaw Petit on account of ill health. The conference then proceeded to discuss the resolution drafted by the Committee the previous night in connection with the Bengal Ordinance. C. Y. Chintamani, in moving the said resolution made a lengthy speech condemning the ordinance and emphasising the evil intent of Government in issuing it after the Legislative Assembly had dispersed.

Bipin Chandra Pal, seconding the resolution, said that Government conducted political prosecutions by relying on the evidence of Police reports, of Police spies and on the statements procured from secret service agents. That being so Government could not produce the secret service agents but had to rely on Ordinances. The secret service evidence, he said, come from all ranks of society and as it was impolitic to produce that evidence

in a court of law Government dealt with the offenders concerned through special Ordinances, which was against all sense of liberty. Government he argued, gave cause to the people to make a revolution and to develop it into a bloody revolution.

George Joseph suggested that the resolution be so amended as to express condemnation of the conduct of those also who either instigated the people to commit anarchical acts or who countenanced the commission of such acts. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that no sensible man would forgive the commission of anarchical acts for, he added, such acts were like diseases and he believed that a disease was a disease and that whatever be the cause of the disease, that cause did not make the disease any less a disease. Similarly a crime was a crime whatever the motive they lay behind it. Sardar Mangalsingh, an Akali leader said that he would support the resolution out of sympathy for that innocent victims of the Bengal Ordinance.

Shaukat Ali made an incoherent speech in which were sandwiched remarks on domestic, communal and political points.

The resolution was wound up by a speech of C. R. Das who tried to prove that there was no case of a political offender in which the witnesses, the jury, the assessors or the Judge were terrorised by anarchists. He said that anarchy arose from the conduct of Government such as that of Lord Curzon who once said that he could defy the Bengal agitators by one stroke of the pen. The consequence was that Bengal took up the challenge and the political agitation against the partition of Bengal went on increasing.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Besant the resolution was put to vote in three parts (a) and (b) being taken together and (c) d.

The next business before tand (d) being taken separately. All the three parts of the resolution were passehe Conference was the appointment of a committee for the purpose of reuniting all the parties in the Congress and to prepare a scheme of *swaraj* including the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity and the like questions. Below is the text of the resolution moved by Gandhi and Seconded by C. R. Das:

"This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the gentlemen named below to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the National Congress and to prepare a scheme of *swaraj* including the solution of Hindu-Muslim and like questions in their political aspects and to report not later than March 31, 1925; and to combine this conference at a date not later than April 15, 1925, the report of the Committee to be published in the press a fortnight before the Conference."

The members forming the committee are M. K. Gandhi. Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, S. Srinivas Iyengar, Sir. Purushottam Thakordas, M. A. Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, Mohamed Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, T. V Parvate, Pandit Mohan Malaviya, R P. Paranjpe, Sir Sivasamy Iyer, S. A. Shinde, C. R. Das, Mohamed Yakub, M. H. Kidwai, President of the European Association, President of the Anglo-Indian Association, President of the Christian Association, President of the Non-Brahmin Association, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hakim Ajmal Khan, J. B. Petit, Babu Bhagwandas, N. C. Kelkar, Pattabhai Sitaramaya, Sardat Manglsingh, Lala Lajpatrai and Pandit Motilal Nehru (Secretary). J. K. Mehta moved an amendment asking the Committee to report by December 15, 1924, but it was thrown out.

The consensus of opinion is that Gandhi has again fooled all the leaders in the Conference and has put off the evil day by getting the two committees appointed on two burning questions of the day, namely, the Bengal Ordinance and the unity of all parties. Mohamed Ali then made an appeal to all the representatives in the Conference to sustain and strengthen the present unity by meeting at Belgaum, if not on a common platform, at least in a common place. He also appealed to the various associations such as the Liberal Federation, Moslem League, etc. to hold their sessions at Belgaum. The representative present there said that they would do their best to respond to Mohamed Ali's appeal. The Conference was then dissolved with the announcement that the All-India Congress Committee would meet at 12 noon on November 23 and that after it was over, the council of the Swaraj Party would hold its meeting at the same place.

The committee appointed by the Conference to secure unity of all parties met at the same place soon after the dissolution of Conference to discuss the programme of work. The committee decided to invite the several party organisations throughout the country to submit, by December 20, their respective conditions for re-entering the Congress together with their suggestions regarding the *swaraj* scheme.

Leaflets in Gujarati protesting against the above unity conference and condemning the attitude of Gandhi and Mohamed Ali towards the *sanatan* Hindus were distributed in the vicinity of the conference hall.

The leaflet is published over the signatures of Shastri Maganlal Jagannath Sinorwalla and Naranji Purshottam Sanghani and is said to be issued on behalf of the *Swadharma Swaraj Sabha*. The writer attacks Gandhi for having given the go by to political matters in order to make room for useless *khaddar* and *charkha* propaganda. Not only this, by his handling the question of untouchability he has brought into contempt the priests and the Hindu *Sastras*. The questions of cow slaughter has been put aside and by his encouragement to the Mohammedan and the Khilafat propaganda, riots have occurred all over India and the life, property, reputation and temples of the Hindus have been placed in danger. The leaflet ridicules Gandhi's fast which the writer says was merely undertaken to restore the prestige of the Mahatma and which has since been proved to have been useless in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *sabha* attacks Mohamed Ali as President of the All-India Conference for not having invited the representatives of the *sabha* to attend the Congress and concludes by warning all Hindus against the activities of the Congress under its present administration.

Page 761, Para 1704(10)

S. B. Bombay Presidency, December 3.—On November 23, the All-India Congress Committee met at the Muzaffarabad Hall under Mohamed Ali's presidency to consider the Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact drawn up at Calcutta. Gandhi made a lengthy statement appealing to all the members not to move any amendment but to either accept the pact or reject it in toto. The pact was accepted by all except two No-Changers.

The same day a private meeting of executive council of the Swaraj Party was held at the same place under the Presidency of C. R. Das. The following resolutions were adopted: —

1. Resolved that the arrangement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and the executive council of the Swaraj Party at Calcutta be accepted.

2. Resolved that Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru be authorised to add a note to the following effect to Calcutta Agreement in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi.

This arrangement does not preclude any Congressman who on conscientious grounds desires to practise non-co-operation in person from doing so without prejudice to, or interference with, the activities of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress.

Page 776, Para 1738 (8).

Bombay City S. B., November 25.—A meeting of the Citizens of Bombay was held on the *Chaupati* sands on November 23rd under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Central Khilafat Committee, *Rashtriya Stree Sabha*, *Parsi Rajkiya Sabha*, National Home Rule League and Bombay Swarajya Party. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided. About 4,000 people attended. Messrs. Gandhi, C. R. Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shaukat Ali, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale and President addressed the audience, eulogising the services of Bi-Amma for India and exhorting the people to follow in her footsteps if they wanted to win *swaraj* for their country.

Page 788, Para 1769 (a)(b).

(b) S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 18.—In connection with Gandhi's statement in the Punjab that he was thinking out a new Programme and that those who adopt it will either attain *swarajya* or meet with death without the intermediate step of going to jail, V. M. Potdar and S. M. Paranjpe say that they cannot make anything of it. They also believe that Gandhi knows that he has lost his popularity and that the enthusiasm of the people has also disappeared and that the above may be intended to rouse both.

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Page 17, Para 42(a).

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 8.—Gandhi arrived on December 21 and received a hearty welcome. Address was presented to him the same evening by the District Local Boards and the City Municipality, Belgaum. In his speech of thanks he advised these bodies to devote their first attention to the work of sanitation and local Self-Government. Politics, he said, should only be taken up as luxury after these duties had been fulfilled.

The All-India Congress Committee met on December 23 with Mohamed Ali in the chair. The annual report for the year 1924, was then submitted to the Committee. It was couched in somewhat gloomy language. Communal friction and a feeling of uncertainty as to the future programme of the Congress had interfered very much with the Congress work. The programme chalked out at Coconada had not been successfully followed. Many of the Provincial Congress Committees, said the report, had not been working properly. Some had not sent reports, and such reports as had been received had been usually meagre and unsatisfactory. Congress membership was low and collection for the Tilak Swaraj Fund poor. The organisation of volunteers, which had been largely left to the *Hindustani Sewa Dal*, had not made very much progress.

After a formal vote of thanks Mahomed Ali vacated the chair in favour of Gandhi. After ascertaining the composition of the house it was found that there were 65 No-Changers and 58 *swarajists* present. Gandhi then addressed the meeting on the subject of the Gandhi-Das pact. He urged the committee to give this Pact their fullest consideration.

C. R. Das then spoke on the same subject. He said that many *swarajists* did not agree with the pact, but as the representatives of the Party had accepted it, so the rank and file must follow their example. Further discussion was not allowed by Gandhi, and a small sub-committee of 15 members was then appointed to prepare and draft resolutions on the subject on the Pact and the spinning franchise. The names of the 15 members of the sub-committee are as follows: M. K. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, B. Ramdas, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. N. S. Paranipe, Hasrat Mohani, Konda Vankatappaya, Lala Lajpatrai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, N. C. Kelkar, Pattabhi Sitarammya, Rajendra Babu and Shrinivas Iyengar. It will be noticed that out of these fifteen, nine are *swarajists*.

The sub-committee was not elected but was appointed as it were by acclamation, Gandhi being guided very largely by N. C. Kelkar in his selections.

The sub-committee then met and submitted the following resolutions: —

1. Endorsing the Gandhi-Das Pact, and
2. Urging the use of *khaddar* and the acceptance of the spinning franchise.

The remaining resolutions were all on the subject of the *khaddar* propaganda.

The following resolutions were decided upon by the sub-committee at various meetings held on December 14 and 25: —

1. Expressing dissatisfaction with the position of Indians overseas in South Africa and Kenya.
2. Expressing sorrow at the deaths of various leaders.
3. Deploring the assassination of the late Sir Lee Slack, but condemning the action taken by the British Government in Egypt.
4. Expressing sympathy with the Burmans.
5. Congratulating the Akalis upon their great and silent suffering in the cause of Gurdwara reform.

6. Deploring the tension between Hindus and Mohammedans which exists in many parts of India and particularly referring to the recent Kohat riots. The resolutions also stated that the local authorities had failed to perform their primary duties of protection to life and property, and advised the public not to accept the findings of the Government of India on this question.

7. On the subject of national education, it made compulsory hand-spinning, weaving and physical training by all teachers and students of national institutions. Urging the formation of a Paid National Service, in order to enable young men/and women who desire to serve their country, but who are deterred from doing so by poverty, to accept remuneration for national work.

There was considerable argument with regard to the resolution on the subject of recent events in Egypt because, while condemning the policy of reprisals, it also condemned the murder of the late Sardar. The objection to this was that the people of Egypt had not taken the vow of non-violence and that the people of India were not competent to judge between the British Government and the Egyptian people in the matter.

There was a certain amount of Hindu-Muslim tension over the resolution deploring the recent events in Kohat but it was eventually carried with the amendment also deploring Gulbarga riots.

(8) Reducing the delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Re. 1 as it was reported that the expense of attending the Congress was too heavy for the pockets of many of the delegates.

Hasral Mohani put his resolution to the effect that the attainment of complete *swaraj* for India should be the aim of the Congress. He failed to obtain any support to this. He then produced a resolution to the effect that the object of the Congress is the attainment of *swaraj* within the Empire by all constitutional means. No decision was arrived at on this point.

A notable fact about this year's Congress has been the usurpation of the privileges and duties of the subjects committee (numbering about 130) by the sub-committee (numbering about 15). All the resolutions that have been placed by the subjects committee before the Congress are the work of this sub-committee. On several occasions when meetings of the subjects committee were due to take place the sub-committee met in its stead and conducted its deliberations. There is no doubt that the establishment of this sub-committee is a distinct move towards efficiency on the part of the Congress organisation. It is believed to be the work of Gandhi. He was of opinion that the subjects committee was too unwieldy for businesslike discussion: not only that but secrecy was very difficult to ensure when the membership of this committee was so large. The sub-committee used to meet in Gandhi's quarters. Although only 15 members were appointed to it, yet any leader who turned up at the quarters appeared to be entitled to take part in the discussions. In this way Vithalbhai J. Patel, who had declined a seat upon the sub-committee, has yet been taking part in the deliberations.

It may be said with truth that not only has the sub-committee overshadowed the subjects committee but it has also completely dominated the Congress.

An instance of the autocratic conduct of the sub-committee is the following.

The sub-committee had originally suggested to the subjects committee a resolution on the subject of the Kohat disturbances. The latter committee turned it down. Nevertheless the sub-committee met again, made alterations in the resolution, inserted a clause regarding the Gulbarga disturbances, adopted other resolutions regarding national education, untouchability etc., and had them all printed and circulated on the morning of December 26 as the work of the subjects committee. The general belief, shared apparently by the Press, is that the sub-committee was only appointed to consider the Pact and the Franchise resolution and then ceased to exist. As a matter of fact it continued to function throughout.

The proceedings of the 29th Indian National Congress commenced on the afternoon of December 26. Long before that time the main entrance was blocked with thousands of delegates and visitors. The control by the volunteers over the crowd completely disappeared. Although the crowd was on the whole orderly and good humoured, there was no doubt that the failure of the volunteers to make efficient arrangements caused a great deal of dissatisfaction. Gandhi was taken to the pandal in procession. The pandal was decorated with national flags, bunting, and photographs of national leaders; one of Tilak hung behind the presidential chair.

After the singing of the *Bande Mataram* song, Gangadharrao B. Deshpande, chairman of the reception committee, delivered a Kanarese version of his address of welcome, copies of which printed in English had already been distributed. His address contained nothing of note. Copies of Gandhi's

presidential address had already been distributed. He then rose and spoke. He said that the Gandhi-Das Pact was going to be put before the House. It was for them to endorse it or to refuse it. He warned them that the change in the Congress constitution was a great one and one not lightly to be undertaken. If they accepted it they must give effect to it. He begged them not to consider his personality in the matter.

A half minute silence was then observed as a token of reverence for the late Bi-Amman and other Congress workers who had passed away.

C. R. Das then spoke in favour of the Pact resolution. He urged them to accept it. He said that the resolution was one of unity. He had been a faithful servant of the Congress. He had never been a rebel. If he had fought against anybody, it was because he felt it to be his duty and all his efforts had been directed to make the Indian National Congress sound ". No party could say to any other party "Stand outside the Congress". Everyone had a right to remain within the Congress fold. Mahomed Ali then seconded the resolution. His speech did not break any new ground and was so long that Gandhi finally walked upto the rostrum as a gentle hint, which was taken.

Hasrat Mohani then opposed the resolution. He said he did not agree with the postponement of the non-co-operation or with the spinning franchise. He asked Gandhi if he really hoped to bring England to her knees by injuring the trade in foreign cloth

Azad Sobhani also opposed the resolution.

S. V. Kowjalgi, N. C. Kelkar and Abhyankar then spoke in favour of it.

Motilal Nehru then rose and spoke in favour of the resolution and wound up the debate. He replied to the criticisms of Hasrat Mohani and Azad Sobhani and other opposers and asked both parties to close their ranks against the bureaucracy. The leaders of the two parties had endorsed the Pact; the rank and file should follow.

Gandhi then brought the proceedings to a close with a few words, and the resolution being put to the House was carried by a large majority.

The subjects committee resumed its discussions on the night of December 26. The following resolutions were put to the meeting for submission to the Congress: —

1. Urging the use of local vernacular languages for Congress work.
2. Recommending that a Congress Publicity Bureau in foreign countries be established. This was proposed by Satya Murti of Madras and failed by a narrow margin of 3 or 4 votes.
3. Vithalbhai J. Patel put a resolution regarding the capture of Local boards and Municipalities by Congressmen.

A resolution to the effect that funds for the maintenance of the dependents of political sufferers should be established was also discussed but the matter was not finally decided.

The Congress resumed its sitting on December 27. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

4. Appreciation of the services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
5. Sympathy with the people of Burma.
6. Deploring the recent Hindu-Muslim riots in Kohat and Gulbarga.

A certain amount of friction arose over this resolution and Lala Lajpatrai was criticised by Zaffar Ali, editor of the *Zamindar*, who said that the Lala had not related the whole truth about the Kohat disturbances. Zaffar Ali was finally asked to stop as his speech was becoming distinctly anti-Hindu in tone.

7. Urging the removal of untouchability.

8. Expressing sympathy with the Akalis.

Nos. 9 and 10 on the subjects of national educational institutions and paid national service.

No. 11 regarding the change in articles 11 and 23 of the Congress creed.

No. 12 regarding the drug and drink traffic carried on immorally by the Government of India.

The appointment of Jamnalal Bajaj as Treasurer, Shuaib Kureshi and B. F. Bharucha as Secretaries to the Congress were moved from the chair and carried unanimously.

During the proceedings Mrs. Besant arrived in the pandal and was received with loud cheers. She spoke a few words opposing the spinning franchise. She said that she was prepared to spin but she knew that there were many Congressmen who regarded the new franchise with distrust. The Congress must be the Congress of all the political parties of the Nation. It must not be run on a narrow sectarian basis. She asked them earnestly to reconsider this important question.

Her speech was received with deep attention and with an entire absence of hostile comments.

Gandhi made a short speech replying to her criticisms and led her down from the rostrum, after which she took her departure.

It will be noticed that Hasrat Mohani's resolution defining the aim of the Congress policy was not put to the Congress.

It will also be noticed that the resolutions on the recent events in Egypt were also not considered.

It will be seen that the proceedings of the Congress itself were devoid of excitement. All the questions had really been decided before hand by either the sub-committee or the subjects committee.

Page 23, Para 42(h).

In Young India of January 1, General Remarks.—Gandhi gives his impression of the Congress. He praises the arrangements made by Ganga-dharrao B. Deshpande but blames him for making the accommodation for leaders much too luxurious. He says that he hopes the Cawnpore Congress will be conducted on more simple and economical lines. He also says that in his opinion the charges for accommodation and food were much too heavy.

He praises the work of the volunteers and particularly those, mostly Brahmins, who were engaged in conservancy work in the Camp.

Page 29, Para 59(4).

S. B. Bombay Presidency Popna, January 15.—A public meeting attended by about 4,000 persons was held under the auspices of the Bhil Sewa Mandal at Dohad, Panch Mahals District, on January 2. Gandhi was present and with him were Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Abbas Tyabji, Waman Mukadam, Amritlal V. Thakkar, Mahadeo Haribhai and other leaders.

Gandhi advised the Bhils to follow the advice of their leader Amritlal. He asked them to give up dunking and to educate themselves. He also

asked them to take up hand-spinning. He said that he was sorry to see so many of them present in foreign cloth.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel asked the audience if they had properly understood Gandhi's request. He asked how many of those present were willing to take up hand spinning and to wear nothing but *khaddar*; about half the number present put up their hands. The meeting then came to a close.

A meeting of about 2,000 persons was held at Godhra on January 3, and was addressed by Gandhi. He said he had nothing new to tell but the fact that he was compelled to go from place to place delivering the same injunctions time after time showed that no progress had been made towards *swaraj*. He said that he was still of opinion that *swaraj* could only be obtained by hand spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability.

His speech went on in the usual terms till its close.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel also spoke to the same effect and asked those who were willing to follow Gandhi's advice to hold up their hands: about half the number present did so. The meeting then came to close.

Page 33, Para 66.

Bombay City, S. B., January 1st.—The All-India Muslim League met at the Globe Cinema, Sandhurst Road, on the 30th and 31st December 1924. The Honourable Mr. Sayad Reza Ali of Allahabad presided. M. K. Gandhi attended the meeting.

Page 105, Para 266(b).

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 18— This issue also contains an open letter to Gandhi by a revolutionary who has given his name but not his address. Gandhi says: "It is a letter in reply to my remarks on the revolutionary movement in my address to the Belgaur Congress. The letter breathes love of the country, fervour and a spirit of self-sacrifice. It is moreover written under a sense of wrong said to have been by me to the revolutionaries. I therefore gladly print the letter without the name".

The letter reproaches Gandhi for the failure of the non-co-operation campaign. He points out that thousands of young men embraced the non-co-operation cult with all the enthusiasm they could gather. Money was supplied in large quantities, in spite of the destitution of the country. Nevertheless the movement failed, but for no fault of the Indians. It is no use to reproach the people with violence or with cowardice. During the campaign the people were entirely non-violent. The failure of the movement, the writer says, was due to the fact that it lacked a worthy ideal. The philosophy of non-violence was a philosophy arising out of despair. It was an imperfect physical mixture of Tolstoyism and Buddhism. The non-violence that India preaches is not non-violence for the sake of non-violence but non-violence for the good of humanity, and when the good of humanity will demand violence and bloodshed, India will not hesitate to shed blood just in the same way as a surgical operation necessitates the shedding of blood. To an ideal Indian, violence or non-violence has the same significance provided they ultimately do good to humanity. The writer goes on to say that it is useless to hope that England will be just or generous. Gandhi's idea of remaining within the British Empire is one of the many Himalayan miscalculations which he has repeatedly committed. The writer then proceeds to show how much the revolutionaries have done for India in the direction of political reform. "You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death." But the revolution-

aries are at a sad loss to understand the meaning of this sentence. Do you mean to say that the revolutionaries are responsible for the deaths of 70 men who were condemned in the Chauri Chaura trial? Do you mean to say that the revolutionaries are responsible for the bombing and killing of innocent people at Jallianwalla Bagh and Gujranwalla? Did the revolutionaries during their struggle for the last twenty years, in the past or in the present, ever ask the starving millions to take part in the revolutionary struggle? The revolutionaries have perhaps a better knowledge of the mass psychology than most of the present leaders. And this was the reason that they never wanted to deal with the masses until they became sure of their own strength. They always believed that the masses of Northern India were ready for any emergency and they were also right in thinking the Northern India masses as a dense mass of high explosive, dangerous to be handled carelessly. It was you and your lieutenants who misjudged the sentiment of the masses and dragged them into the *satyagraha* movement, people who were groaning under a thousand oppressions from within and without, where the lightening of anger laid unperceived, and you had to pay the penalty for it. But can you give any instance where the revolutionaries dragged unwilling souls into the valley of death?

The writer criticises and condemns the reiteration of the statement that the British Empire is so much stronger and better organised than the Indian people. It is this feeling of helplessness that has led to the adoption of the futile non-violent campaign.

Gandhi in his answer to the writer admits that there was a wonderful response to his call but states that the observance of non-violence was far below the required standard. He points out that revolution cannot succeed in India whatever may be true of other countries although he does not deny the revolutionaries' heroism and sacrifice. Finally he calls the attention of the revolutionaries to the three great hindrances to *swaraj*: the incomplete spread of the spinning-wheel, the discord between Hindus and Mohammedans and the inhuman ban upon the suppressed classes.

Page 168, Para 440—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 24.—An informant states that Gandhi has gradually arrived at the belief that he stands for nothing in India politics today. He has therefore written to N. C. Kelkar that the Swaraj Party should now take over the management of the Congress and conduct it on their own lines as he (Gandhi) proposes to retire for ever from politics.

N. C. Kelkar, it is said, is willing to run the Congress on behalf of the Swaraj Party but he does not want the Congress without Gandhi. If the latter will consent to remain in the Congress under its new masters he will be allowed to hold himself aloof from all Congress activities in respect of the Assembly and the Councils.

Page 196, Para 509.

March 27.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Madras on the morning of March 26. In the afternoon he addressed a meeting of about 200 women held at the Khaddar and Swadeshi Exhibition and appealed to them to take to *khaddar* and the spinning wheel in right earnest. He then addressed the meeting of the depressed classes who presented him with an address under the leadership of Narayan Dhanaji Bhonsle. He told them that he hoped that the course of untouchability would disappear in course of time and admonished them to refrain from drink. He then presented gold and silver medals to those who were successful in the spinning competition held in the Exhibition *mandap*. The Congress House was

then formally opened by him before a gathering of about 400 people by hoisting the national flag. Prayers showering blessings on the Congress House were offered by a Parsi priest, a Maulvi, an Indian Christian Minister, a Sikh and *Sanatanist*. He made a short speech in Gujarati explaining the unique occasion of opening the Congress House and the significance of maintaining at the cost of one's life the prestige of the national flag that was hoisted. He advised the people to regard the flag as an embodiment of all that they cherished and honour just as Englishmen did.

SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY¹

March 26, 1925

Gandhiji said the yarn spun here was not of the requisite quality and fineness but the fault was their own for the high hopes they had first entertained when they had met in such large numbers on the *Chowpatty* some four years ago were not fulfilled. He wanted 40s and higher counts if they were to supply their personal requirements as far as cloth was concerned. He had 800 counts spun in this country, and it was such fine yarn that made the Dacca mulls possible. He asked the women of Bombay to make it possible for him to realise the high hopes he had entertained in regard to *khadi* and spinning. He had recently toured in Southern India and had been even to Kanya Kumari and had seen all sorts of people from the *Maharani* of Travancore downwards and he was glad to tell them that the *Maharani* had promised him to wear nothing but *khadi*, and also to spin yarn. He had seen evidence for himself that in Travancore until a few years ago every household spun its own yarn and made its own cloth. In Cochin the Royal family was wearing *khadi* and also spun yarn. But how many of the women who were there that day were wearing *khaddar*? He fully realised that the people of Bombay could not well realise the importance of the spinning wheel.....they who spent money so heedlessly. But the famine stricken men and women of Orissa who looked like mere bundle of bones, did realise the importance of *khadi* and the *charkha*. Even these starving people of Orissa had helped him with their offerings when he had been there to make collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. To starving people like these, *charkha* was of greater importance than to the women of Bombay. Mrs. Naidu had informed him that the Begum of Bhopal had ordered a lot of *khaddar* for her use. The reason why he asked Begums and rich men and women to devote a small portion of their time to spinning was in order that they might bring themselves to the level of the poor in this country and realise to some extent at least their trials and tribulations. In this connection he said those who endowed *sadavarts*² for the poor were really committing sin, although unintentionally. Why were so many lakhs of able bodied men in this country who were well able to earn an honest livelihood, starving and loafing? It was because they had no work and could not find any work. At best the mills in India could employ a few lakhs, but not the many crores who were there starving and workless. He did not ask the women to give him any money for these people, but to dedicate at least 30 minutes a day to spinning for the sake of the starving masses. Let them wear *khaddar* for the sake of these poor men and women; they must give up all foreign cloth, even mill cloth, and until they did so they could not be free, could not have *Swaraj* and *Ramraj*. He invited the women of Bombay

¹Under the auspices of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha at the Congress House, Girgaum, Sarojini Naidu presided,

²Alms or charity.

to take part in the national functions which would be held in the Congress House, which would be the centre of all national activities in this city. The women of Bombay had given him much, but he asked them to give him something more for the country and that was half-an-hour daily devoted to spinning. [C.W. M.G. Vol. XXVI, pp. 419 to 420. *The Bombay Chronicle* 27th March 1925].

SPEECH AT MEETING OF DEPRESSED CLASSES, BOMBAY¹

March 26, 1925

The Mahatma said it was unnecessary for him to tell them all he wanted to do, or had already done, for the abolition of untouchability from this land, and while he admitted, that untouchability was fast disappearing from India, he regretted that the pace was not fast enough for him. They knew *Vykom satyagraha* was being performed by the untouchables in order to assert their right to walk in a street adjoining the temple. These untouchables were offering *satyagraha* with a view to bringing round to reason those Hindus who in their bigotry had become blind to all real principles of Hindu religion. It was to open the eyes of these caste Hindus that the untouchables in Vykom were offering *satyagraha*. Gandhiji hoped their efforts would prove successful in the end. These people were performing *tapascharya*, sacrifice, in order to convince the caste Hindus of their mistaken notions. These untouchables had a great spiritual leader, Narayan Guru, who had promised him not to allow any of his followers to approach him without wearing *khaddar*. If the young boys in the audience could not understand his Hindi speech, he could only bless them and wish them a long life, which he hoped they would spend in the service of their country, in good deeds, in truthfulness and in fearlessness. They should fear no man, and fearing none, serve their country.- He also asked them to give up drink, [C.W. M.G. Vol. XXVI p. 420. *The Bombay Chronicle*. 27th March 1925].

SPEECH AT OPENING OF CONGRESS HOUSE, BOMBAY.

March 26, 1925

Gandhiji after congratulating the winners of the medals² said the work for which they had gathered there was a blessed one. But before opening the House they must fully realise their responsibility. The National Flag was a mere piece of *khaddar* with a *charkha* on it, yet they loved it immensely, and it symbolised their hopes and pride. The hoisting of the flag meant something more than the mere ceremony signified. In this country at the present time there was suspicion among the different communities towards each other. In the South the Hindus were fighting with each other. From the prayers said there by the representatives of the various communities, they would find that they contained the same eternal truth about the great God pervading everywhere. If they but realised that all religions were great and must be honoured and respected as such, and that they must tolerate each other, the object of such a ceremony would be realised. Once the flag was hoisted, it would never be lowered whatever happened, even if they all died for it. If the man who was holding it aloft fell stricken down. then the next man must take it from his hands and never allow it to lie in the dust. The flag was the embodiment of all that they cherished and honoured.

¹An address of welcome praising Gandhiji's services for the removal of untouchability was presented. S. V. Puntambekar translated the speech into Marathi.

²In the Spinning competition organised by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee before the function.

With the hoisting of the flag, Gandhiji said, the House would be opened by him. The House was purchased out of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, to which Bombay was the largest contributor. The House was consecrated to the "Congress work, and he asked them all to take advantage of the building. He then prayed to God to make their hearts clean, that they might bear no ill-will towards each other, that they might serve the country, that the flag which they had hoisted that day would never be lowered, and that the members of the Congress would bear no ill-will towards their countrymen.

Gandhiji then walked up to the Flagstaff and slowly unfurled the national banner and hoisted it amidst loud cries of *Vandemataram*.

[C.W.M.G., Vol. XXIV, P. 421.

The Bombay Chronicle 27th March 1925]

Page 211, Para. 558, April 16.

Young India of April 9 contains more correspondence between Gandhi and his revolutionary friend. The correspondent asks Gandhi to produce the names of any Swarajists, Moderate or Nationalist, who like the Revolutionaries have sacrificed their lives for their country. Gandhi answers Gokhale and Tilak. "There is no necessary charm about death on the gallows: often such death is easier than a life of drudgery and toil in malarious tracts." Further on the revolutionary says " We (the revolutionary party) are entering villages and have been successful everywhere. Can you not believe that they, the sons of Shivaji, Pratap and Ranjit, can appreciate our sentiments with more readiness and depth than anything else? Don't you think that armed and conspired resistance against something *satanic* and ignoble is infinitely more befitting for any nation, especially Indian, than the prevalence of effortlessness and philosophical cowardice? I mean the cowardice which is pervading the length and breadth of India owing to the preaching of your theory of non-violence or more correctly the wrong interpretation and misuse of it. Non-violence is not the theory of the weak and helpless, it is the theory of the strong. We want to produce such men in India, who will not shrink from death whenever it may come and in whatever form-will do the good and die. This is the spirit with which we are entering the villages. We are not entering the villages to exhort votes for councils and district boards, but our object is to secure co-martyrs for the country who will die and a stone will not tell where his poor corpse lies. Do you believe like Mazzini that ideas ripen quickly, when nourished by the blood of martyrs?"

Gandhi replies that if the revolutionaries succeed in attracting, not dragging, the masses to them they will find the murderous campaign totally unnecessary. He also says that it is incorrect to speak of the masses of India being the descendants of Shivaji, Ranjit, Pratap and Govind Singh.

Called upon by his correspondent to admire De Valera, Kamal Pasha, Lenin and other revolutionaries, Gandhi replies that though many of his adherents do admire these patriots yet "they realise with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is suicidal at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so fearfully terror-struck".

With regard to the above correspondence the following remarks are made by an officer of this Department, to whom the view had been expressed, that "the revolutionary" was probably a Bengali: —

The use made of Sanskrit quotations in the last letter viz., *Vinaskaya cha Dushkritam*, *Vinashe of Duskritas* and *Nishkama Karma* seem to show

that the revolutionary is not a Bengali, for Bengalis never say *Vinasha* but use *Binash* instead. Only inhabitants of Maharashtra and perhaps of Gujarat use the word *Vinasha*. Moreover the use of the above quotations shows that "the Revolutionary" has studied the *Geeta-Rahasya* of Tilak and is a disciple of the late Tilak. Similarly the reference to Shivaji, Pratap, Ranjit and Guru Govind (a follower of Ramdas) and none else tends to show that the writer is a man who loves Maharashtra and Shivaji and Ramdas. Rana Pratap belonged to Rajputana, from which province the ancestors of Shivaji came down to the Deccan. The sentence "we are not entering the villages to extort votes for councils and district boards" may perhaps show that he hails from Maharashtra, Gujarat or the Central Provinces where there has recently been a campaign on account of the Local Board elections. Moreover the reference made by Gandhi in his reply "to obliterate caste " may perhaps be due to his having before him Maharashtra and Gujarat, where caste differences are acute. So also the want of leaders felt by "the Revolutionary" may lead one to infer that he is someone from here as there is no such want in Bengal.

Page 221, Para 756.

Bombay City S. B. April 14.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from his Kathiawar tour on the morning of April 11. In the interviews that he gave to the press and to those who called on him he made it clear that he had no new policy or new programme to place before the country. At a public meeting held on April 13 in celebration of the last day of the National Week he once more emphasised the need of carrying out his three-fold programme of Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability and *khaddar*, without which he said *swaraj* was impossible.

He proceeds to Bengal on May 1.

Page 232, Para 612(6).

Bombay City S. B., April 14.—The National Week passed without any occurrence of political importance in the city. On the last day, April 13, about half a dozen volunteers hawked *khaddar* in the morning and? public meeting was held at the Congress House in the evening. About a thousand people attended and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Yithalbhai J. Patel, K. P. Khadilkar, Shaukat Ali and M. K. Gandhi made speeches.

Vithalbhai J. Patel made a lengthy speech in Gujarati giving an account of the agitation that was carried on in 1919 and deploring the present state of political lethargy and wrangling between parties. Unless the people had a fighting programme and unless they were prepared for direct action to fight the common enemy, it was impossible to foresee any good for India. He condemned the spinning franchise introduced by Gandhi and suggested that the Congress programme should be revised by convening, if necessary, an All-India Congress Committee meeting.

K. P. Khadilkar said that it was the practice of the bureaucracy, whether in India, Egypt or elsewhere, to substitute a fresh repressive measure for any that might be withdrawn just as they had the Bengal Ordinance in lieu of the Rowlatt Act. The Government would always revert to its old mentality. Unlike V. J. Patel he advocated strict adherence to the Congress programme.

Shaukat Ali made a rambling speech as usual in the course of which he said that the disease from which India was suffering was cowardice. Until they were prepared to sacrifice their lives and property, it was futile for

them to think of achieving *swaraj*. Personally speaking, so long as the bureaucracy continued its present policy, he was content to remain an outlaw. He would do his utmost to destroy the bureaucracy and challenged it to do its worst to him.

M. K. Gandhi replied to V. J. Patel's criticism of the spinning franchise and once more emphasised that in his own opinion without the three fold programme (of Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and *khaddar*) it was impossible to achieve *swaraj*. He was always ready to resort to *satyagraha* at any time if he believed that the people were prepared for it but he knew well that the country was not ready at present. Real *satyagraha* required insistence on truth and *Ahimsa* (peace) and these were essential in the fight for freedom. He would always prefer a small number of real *satyagrahis* to a large number of *Duragrahis*. He finally appealed to the people to carry out his programme if they sincerely believed in it.

The Bombay Chronicle, April 14, 1925.

SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY

Mahatma Gandhi said they had heard three speeches that day and Mr. Patel had asked him to place such a programme before the country as would enthuse the people, or that they should find out for themselves such a programme. He did not think that the people had anything to seek beyond *charkha* to enthuse them to a proper pitch, as well as to make them fit for a fight with the bureaucracy. They had failed because they were not really earnest in their aims. The *charkha* taught them to have immense patience, and it also taught them to be brave. It taught them to do their work bravely and with faith. Yet the people were unable to spin for even half an hour a day. He was firmly of the opinion that if they would merely spin they would get all they wanted. Since 1919 he had been telling them about these things and what more could he tell them now? If they really sought enthusiasm let them take to spinning, as; without spinning they could not get *swaraj*. They would go on with their fighting between Hindus and Muslims between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Avarnas and Savarnas—he had learnt these terms in Travancore and there were also other communities to fight with. The country had to make sacrifices for *swaraj* and for *satyagraha*. He was the originator of the term *satyagraha* and he knew something about it.

Without *satyagraha*, Mahatmaji continued, they would never get *svsraj*. He would be satisfied even if they practised *satyagraha* between Hindus and Muslims and so on, but the people were not ready even for that small thing. The people were ready however for *duragraha* and they were ready to break each other's heads and after doing it they wanted to run away. Those were not the ways of winning *swaraj*. For *satyagraha* they must have a peaceful atmosphere and that was not there. He was not ashamed to own up that their meeting was held in the Congress House grounds because they did not expect to get a large number of people if they had their meeting on the Chowpatty, for he himself had never become hopeless about the present position for as long as there was *satyagraha* in the country they were 'sure of winning *swaraj*. The only thing was that the necessary peaceful atmosphere was not there. In spite of all their disappointments he was of opinion that they had not lost anything during the last five years; on the other hand they had gained something. It would never do to lose heart or 'do nothing: They must go on with redoubled efforts and that was essential if they were bent upon winning the fight. Even if there were ten true men in the Congress he would be quite satisfied; on the other hand it was no

use having lakhs of men who did not mean business. Formerly they had a four-anna franchise and they had lakhs of members and yet they had not got *swaraj*. Because he was convinced that they would not get *swaraj* by these means he had got the franchise altered, for he knew that as long as there were not even a few men who were ready to make sacrifice for the country they would never hope to win the end.

They must, proceeded Mahatmaji, be resolved to win in spite of all obstacles in their way. They knew that Government were determined that Indians should fight with each other. But how many people were there in this country who were equally determined not to fight whatever happened? Only the *charkha* could give them sufficient enthusiasm for *satyagraha* and they had to prepare themselves by spinning. If they wanted to offer *satyagraha*, they might do so on their own account, but he would be no party to it. He knew something about *satyagraha*, for he was the author of it. If he did not resort to *satyagraha*, it was not because he did not want it, but because he knew that the country was not ready for it. As long as they had done the three things that they were required to do, they could not be said to be ready for *satyagraha*. Although it was always possible to offer individual *satyagraha*, he did not think that the country was ripe for a mass *satyagraha*. Between the 6th and 13th April, a whole cycle's history was written; and when he found that they were ready for *satyagraha* he would be the first man to tell them so, but he did not believe in bluffing the Government as this Government was not to be bluffed by such threats. It was a difficult thing to fool the Government. Speaking for himself, he would say that he would never give up the struggle as long as his object was not won. If they wanted to call themselves *satyagrahis* he would ask them to unite with each other, take to *charkha* and remove untouchability. If they did that they were sure to win.

Page 270, Para 694.

Bombay City S. S. April 29.—A meeting of the general public for the purpose of considering and adopting the above mentioned constitution was held at Madhav Baugh at 8-00 p.m. On April 28, under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi, who arrived in Bombay that morning on his way to Calcutta. About 4,000 people attended the meeting. Prominent persons present were Shaukat Ali, the Honourable Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Dr. B. S. Munje, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Chaunde Buwa, Maha-deo H. Desai, Radhakant Malaviya and Ramanujacharya, the preceptor of the *Vaishnavas*.

The proceedings commenced with prayers and songs in praise of cow-worship and with the blessings from Shri Ramanujacharya who emphasised that the question of cow-protection did not involve any differences of opinion in the four classes of the Hindus.

Chaunde Buwa appealed for the support of both Hindus and Mohammedans in protection of cows.

M. K. Gandhi said that he was diffident in taking up this question as it required a good deal of self-restraint. He was alive to his own failings but he was very anxious to serve the cow, a dumb and helpless creature. Nowhere in the world was the cow, worse off than in India and no one but the Hindus treated her badly. If the Hindus realised their responsibilities towards the cow, they would not be required to be told of the importance of cow-protection. It was no use blaming Mohammedans and the Englishmen on the cow question as the Hindus had neglected their own duties.

When the cow ceased to give milk, she was sold to the shoe-makers which was very reprehensible. He then laid stress on having dairy-farms and tannery works and asked the people to devise means to stop the export of hides. He criticised the conduct of those Hindus who did not object to using extracts of beef when recommended by doctors. He then put before the meeting and explained the following draft constitution: —

"As cow-protection is one of the important duties upon the Hindus as a part of their religion and as through carelessness the race of the cow is becoming weaker and weaker and as the extent of cow slaughter is increasing daily, this meeting establishes an institute *Akhil Bharatiya Goraksha Mandal* by name to work for cow-protection in the right direction and with a religious view.

AKHIL BHARATIYA GORAKSHA MANDAL

The object of this *Mandal* is to work for the cow-protection in all religious ways.

The word cow-protection means, to protect the cow and her progeny from slaughter and cruel treatment.

N.B.—It is against the object of this *Mandal* to coerce any other community whose religion does not specially prevent or encourage cow slaughter.

Means: —

This *Mandal* will achieve its object by using the following means: —

(1) To induce all through love, to stop the cruelty practised upon animals such as the cow and her progeny and so to protect them. To win over the readers by means of written articles. To send volunteers to work for cow-protection. To induce people to protect the cow, by means of speeches.

(2) To emancipate weak and sick cows and bullocks from their owners, in case they do not get sufficient food or in case their owner is unable to feed them.

(3) To examine the institutes such as the cow-houses and the *Panjra-pols*, to help the managers in the managements of such institutions and to establish new institutions where they do not exist.

(4) To propagate typical breeds of the cow with the help of cowhouses and *Panjrapols* or otherwise.

(5) To appoint-shoe-makers to skin the dead animals to stop the export of the skin of the dead animals.

(6) To prepare expert cow-protection propagandists by specially instructed voluntary workers.

(7) To investigate the causes of the deterioration of our pasture lands and to attempt to reclaim them.

(8) To investigate into the necessity or otherwise of castrating the bullocks. If it is found, to reform, the method of castration.

(9) To collect funds for the work of the *Mandal*.

(10) To use all such means as are necessary to ensure cow-protection.

Shaukat Ali and Dr. Munje were then asked to say a few words. Shaukat Ali asked the audience to work for *swaraj* which would automatically solve the question of cow-protection and assured the people of the support of the Mohammedans. Dr. Munje pointed out that it was not the Mohammedans

that made use of the beef on a large scale but that it was the British troops that needed consumption of beef in large quantities in and out of India. He therefore suggested that they should discourage and stop the export of cattle.

Gandhi then asked the people to give their consent to the constitution put before them by show of hands. All, it is reported, except four, voted in favour of the constitution and the proceedings terminated.

Page 272, Para 699.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 14.—In *Young India* of May 7 Gandhi gives a distressing description of the changes which he experienced on his journey to Calcutta. "The discarding of *khaddar* was most noticeable in the Central Provinces. Instead of a forest of white *khaddar* caps, I see everywhere the provoking black foreign caps on almost every head. I am witnessing all along the route a striking demonstration of the fact. The demonstration of the painful truth became complete at Nagpur—the centre that reaffirmed the Calcutta resolution of non-violent non-co-operation. There was a vast crowd at the station. The Congress officials had even arranged a meeting just outside the station. The hot sun was beating overhead. The din was terrific. Nobody heard anybody, much less listened to anybody. There were volunteers but there was no discipline. No way was kept for me to pass through. I insisted on a way being made if I was to go the meeting place during the half hour that the train was to stop at the station. The way was made with difficulty. I waded through it in the best manner I could. It took me over five minutes to reach the platform. Without the crowd pressing from all sides I could have reached it in half a minute. I took no more than one minute to deliver my message. It took me longer to return to the train than it took to reach the platform, for the crowd had now lost its head completely. The intoxication of affection was now at its height. The shouts of '..... ki Jai' rent the sky. I was ill able to bear the din and dust and the suffocation.

At last I got a hearing. I demanded the black caps. The response was instantaneous but not generous. From that vast crowd I do not think more than one hundred caps were thrown, four of which were thrown not by the owners. They were claimed and promptly returned.

Page 436, Para 1097.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 29.—It is learnt that Gandhi has issued a circular letter to all the Kattar leaders admitting that the Non-Cooperation Movement has failed, and that he was therefore going to assist the Swarajists whole-heartedly in their work. It was, therefore, his desire that all non-co-operators should also similarly assist the *Swarajists*. If conscience came in their way they should remain perfectly neutral.

Page 562, Para 1403(2).

Bombay City S. B., September 5.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay by Calcutta Mail on the morning of September 3 and stayed as usual at Gam-devi. In the evening he attended a performance entitled *Shur Abula* organised by the girls of the Tilak Girls School under the guidance of the Principal, Miss Kirshnabai Tulaskar. About Rs. 500 were realized by the sale of tickets. Gandhi appealed to the audience to support the institution.

On the evening of September 4, he presided over a public meeting held at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall to celebrate the birth centenary of Dadabhai

Naoroji. The hall was packed about 2,500 people of all castes having assembled. The meeting was representative of some forty-three association of Bombay political and social. Speeches were made by Mr. J. E. Needham, Rao Bahadur D. G. Padhye, K. M. Munshi, H. P. Mody, Mirza Ali Mohamed Khan, M. R. Jayakar, M. D. Altekar, M. C. Chagla, J. J. Vimadalal, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Saukat Ali. Almost all the speakers paid a tribute to the memory of Dadabhai Naoroji in the most eulogistic terms and appealed to the people to emulate his example. Gandhi made a short speech in Gujarati narrating his personal recollections of Dadabhai Naoroji and appealing to the audience to act up to the principles laid down by Dadabhai for the general uplift of their countrymen.

Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad the same night.

Page 574, Para 1444.

Bombay City, S. B., September 10.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on the morning of September 10 and left the same afternoon for his tour in Bihar and Orissa.

Page 664, Para 1657(1), (2).

East Khandesh, October 24.—M. K. Gandhi passed through the district by the Punjab Mail on October 20 and was met at the Bhusawal, Jalgaon, Pachora and Chalisgaon stations by the prominent local agitators. At Bhusawal 300, and at Jalgaon 150 persons were at the station, while only a small crowd was present at Pachora and Chalisgaon. Rs. 200 and Rs. 2 were collected for the Das Memorial Fund at Bhusawal and Jalgaon, respectively. Gandhi is said to have complained that very few of the crowd wore *khaddar*.

Page 665, Para 1657(2).

Bombay City S. B., October 21.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Sitapur by the Punjab Mail at 7 p.m. on October 20. The next morning [21st October] he left Bombay for Cutch by the S". *S. Rupwati*. About 500 people mostly Cutchis were present to give him a send off at *Bhau'a Dhacca*, Alexandra Dock. Manilal Kothari, Vallabhbhai Patel and Jivraj Gokuldas Nensi accompanied him from Bombay. Before the steamer left at 10-30 a.m. Gandhi made a short speech advising those present to act up to his usual advice of wearing *khaddar* and plying the *charkha*, which, he hoped, would secure *swaraj* before his death.

Page 823, Para 1968 (1 & 2).

Bombay City S. B., December 10.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on December 8 from Dholka. The same evening he presided at the annual prize distribution of the National High School, Bombay, at the Bhangwadi theatre, Kalbadevi Road. About 1,000 persons attended, prominent among them being Lala Lajpatraj, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Slade, Revashankar Jagjiwan, Bhai Parmanand and others. After dialogues by some of the students in vernacular and English, the report of the school for last year was read out. M. K. Gandhi then distributed the prizes and his written speech in Gujarati was read out by Dayalji Nanubhai Desai. In this he advised the students to stick to *khaddar* and expressed his confidence that the students would always be ready to sacrifice themselves for their country. He pointed out that the dresses of some of the students who took part in the dialogues were not of *khaddar*.

He left Bombay for Wardha via Nagpur on December 9 with Miss Slade.

Page 41, Para 106A (2).

S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Pqpna, January 21*.—From about the middle of December, volunteers and delegates flocked to Cawnpore from all over the country. The delegates numbered about 3,500 and volunteers about -1,100. A huge crowd collected on December 23 to welcome Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu, the President-elect of the Congress, the former receiving the greater share of popular attention. Very little interest was taken in Mrs. Naidu, except by the Communists, on account of her imperialistic ideas and ill-treatment of Lala Lajpatrai. In fact, a movement was on foot to boycott her arrival, but nothing came of it. The Congress camp daily attracted large crowds who merely came to see the *tamasna* and took but little interest in the political propaganda. The attitude of the crowd was quiet and friendly and no sign of enmity against Europeans or Government servants could be seen. The same may be said of the Congress volunteers and audiences inside the *pandal*. Mrs. Naidu as President cannot be said to have been altogether a success. She commanded little attention or respect and was able to maintain her position only by Gandhi's tactful self-effacement. Gandhi after the passing of the yarn-franchise was seldom seen in the Congress. Except for the outbreak of the Ali Brothers, Hasrat Mohani and similar firebrands, the proceedings of the Congress were unusually mild and quiet. The Muslims held aloof, the Maharashtra party was in rebellion and an unhappy quarrel with the Rajputana delegates turned them and their communist friends into acting enemies, who headed by Arjunlal Sethi and Hasrat Mohani attempted, in spite of the volunteers, to storm the *pandal* and threatened to burn down the Congress camp. A lathi fight ensued and a few heads and many feelings were hurt. However, the Congress did work for three days and after passing the yarn-franchise, which was done to keep Gandhi with Congress, the resolution regarding the compulsory wearing of *khaddar* was thrown out by a large majority. Motilal Nehru had an idea that the split between the Congress and the Maharashtra Party might be patched up by a compromise allowing those that wished to do so to take up responsive co-operation, but Gandhi made it clear that he was opposed to this and it was finally decided that no Congressman should be allowed to accept a paid Government post, though they may be allowed for the present to carry on work in the Assembly and the Councils. This naturally irritated Kelkar and Jayakar and their followers. They threatened to break away from the Congress and to form a new organisation but were over-persuaded, and Kelkar and Jayakar have now resigned their Government posts and are devoting themselves to propaganda on behalf of responsive co-operation. Led by Motilal Nehru the Congress passed a resolution to the effect that a fresh demand for self-government should be made in the Assembly and it was decided that if this did not meet with a satisfactory response before the end of February 1926, the Working Committee of the Congress should decide whether or not civil disobedience should be started. The last two resolutions are regarded by many people as mere electioneering propaganda and incapable of enforcement. It is very probable that after the coming election there will be an important change in the Congress programme involving rapprochement with the Maharashtra Party. Resolutions were also passed condemning the Bengal Ordinance, the Burmese Sea Passages Tax, the Non-Burman.. Offenders' Expulsion Bill, the proposal to settle Moplah Prisoners in the Andamans, with resolutions of sympathy with the Indians in South Africa and with the Sikhs in their troubles. In the Congress *pandal* there was a feeling of unreality about the proceedings.

None of the visitors and few of the delegates could hear the speeches, and they consequently indulged in private conversation; even the more important resolutions aroused little general interest.

Before the actual session of the Congress, a feeling had come over a very minor section of the leaders that in the absence of a leader unanimously accepted as such by the masses and who was really able to lead them, the country would not in any way be benefited by the Congress or the manifold conferences, which produced rivalry, jealousy and envy amongst the different political workers and ended in social, political and communal splits, so very damaging to the progress of the country. But they could not say this openly to prevent the waste of public money over such meetings, so long as the majority wanted all these shows to display their own qualifications (or the lack of them) and for this reason many prominent persons from this Presidency did not even trouble to attend the Congress, L. B. Bhopatkar, K. G. Lohokare, N. R. Gunjal, R. G. Soman, D. V. Belvi being instances of the above kind.

Page 295, Para 796.

(2) *Bombay City, May 1.*—The course of the Calcutta riots has had little effect on the relations between Hindus and Musalmans in Bombay. The Central Khilafat Committee however is deeply concerned and is convening a special conference at Delhi on May 7 and 8 to decide their attitude towards the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Officially their object is to discover means of securing it and Gandhi is invited to attend, but there is undoubtedly a powerful body of Musalman opinion behind the view that it is time they ceased to dabble with the question and openly declared the Hindus to be their enemies. The Conference will presumably resolve itself into a struggle between Gandhi's pacifying influence and this purely communal standpoint. It will be surprising if the result is not the usual application of sticking plaster over, the offensive sore, but the sore will remain and whatever - official resolutions may be passed the Communalists will probably impose their will on the Central Khilafat Committee in Shaukat Ali's absence.

Page 306, Para 833(2).

Bombay City S. B., May 10.—Under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Swaraj Party a public meeting was held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya on the evening of May 7 when speeches were made on "the Sabarmati Pact and after". Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over an audience of about 500 people.

The president in winding up the proceedings condemned the attitude of the Responsivists in not attending the All-India Congress Committee meeting although invited twice by Gandhi, and herself an Indian lady. She appealed to the audience to stand by the Congress and fight the battle of liberty.

Page 310, Para 845-A.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, May 20.—Gandhi's visit to His Excellency the Governor in Mahableshwar provides the *Mahratta* of May 16 with a God-given opportunity for asking awkward questions. The writer endeavours to show indeed that it was Gandhi who took the initiative in the matter and that it was he who solicited an interview with His Excellency. It is now for the Mahatma to make a clean breast of the whole position. The only important point in all this from our point of view, is whether Mahatma's visit to the Governor, upon an invitation or without an invitation, is not

In the nature of Responsive' Co-operation, or even worse if- there-was no invitation at all..... The Responsive Co-operationists have no hesitation in claiming Mahatma Gandhi to be on their side..... We openly call upon Mahatma Gandhi to explain in *Young India* how his conduct materially differs from the conduct of any Responsivists.

Page 319, Para 869, (1), (2).

5. *B. Bombay Presidency, Poona; May 21.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Mahableshwar on May 16. He was asked on May 18 by the Rev.' James; F. Edwards to visit the Mission School. He at first refused on the score of lack of time, but was eventually persuaded and in the evening attended a Tennis Tea at which all the missionaries and some other Europeans were present. He stayed a short time only and gave a short speech lasting about 3 minutes on Love, particularly love for Indians.

It was apparently the Mission ladies, of whom there are any number at present in Mahableshwar, who were keenest on getting him to the party.

(2) *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 22*—M. K. Gandhi came to Poona from Mahableshwar in the company of Chunilal Mehta and Jamnalal Bajaj on the morning of May 20 and proceeded direct to Sinhgadh, returning to Poona the same evening. Gandhi stayed with J. P. Trivedi of the Irrigation Department. He was visited by S. M. Paranjpe, S. K. Damle, V. M. Bhuskute and most of the non-co-operators of Poona, including about 30 Gujarati students.

Messrs. J. P. Trivedi and G. N. Kanitkar were at the railway station to see him off to Bombay for which he left by the night train the same day.

Page 325, Para 886.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 25.—The *Mahratta*, dated the 23rd May has the following:

"After an amount of bungling, through whose-so-ever fault it may be, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of Non-co-operation, at last succeeded in having an interview with the Acting Governor of Bombay at Mahableshwar on Tuesday and Wednesday last. It is said that in the course of the conversation the question of the Royal Agricultural Commission and the Agricultural Exhibition were discussed. Of course other outstanding matters like the South African Round Table Conference must have been talked of. But what topics were included in the Conference between the Mahatma and the Governor of the Presidency and what were not, is comparatively immaterial. The most dominating fact is that the arch Non-co-operator, the padagon of boycotts, the coiner of the term *Satanic* Government, thought his sought or unsought interview with the head of that *Satanic* Government so important that he broke his vow of not leaving his *ashram* unless absolutely essential for his health, a vow that the Mahatma did not think it worthwhile to bend in deference to the All-India Congress Committee, even the meeting of which was held at Ahmedabad for his sake and his': sake alone-travelled all the way from Sabarmati to Poona, motored from Poona to Mahableshwar and had his say with the Governor of Bombay.

Page 362, Para 967 (2), May 29.

Note by S. B., Bombay Presidency, June 10.—The *Times of India* of June 9 has the following: "It has been finally decided that Mr. Gandhi is not to go to Finland".

Page 422, Para 1103, July 5,

Mahatma Gandhi's statement as to what he would do if he were Emperor of India has been received with great merriment by the Press. His best efforts are undoubtedly the following:

".....I would disband practically the whole army of occupation in India, retaining only such police as may be necessary-for the protection of her citizens against thieves and robbers. I would not bribe the Frontier tribes as they are being bribed today. But I would cultivate the friendliest relations with them and to that end send out reformers amongst them in order to find out the ways or means of providing useful occupation for them I would summon the representatives of both the Mohammedans and Hindus, search their pockets and deprive them of all eatables, and of all lethal weapons, if they have any, and lock them together in one room and open it only after they have settled their quarrels."

Page 71, Para 180.

West Khandesh, February 12.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Sindkheda on February 12 and received a purse of Rs. 500 there. He came to Shahada the same evening and was presented with an address by the municipality headed by Purashottam Waman Pandit, pleader, who is president. He gave a brief address in the usual strain. Be brotherly, don't quarrel, wear *khaddar* etc. Nothing of importance was said. The attendance was about 2,000 all classes being represented, including Bhoris and depressed classes. All his meetings here, including the purse, and the auction for Rs. 300 of the case in which the address was presented to him, produced about Rs. 1,000.

Gandhi motored to Dondaicha about 8 p.m. and spent the night there.

Page 72, Para 181.

East Khandesh, February 12th.—During the week M. K. Gandhi toured the East Khandesh district and collected in all about Rs. 21,000. His sole object in visiting the district seems to have been to collect money, as where money was not collected he merely halted the car and then proceeded when he learnt there was no purse for him. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife, Mahadeobhai Haribhai Desai of Ahmedabad, Shankar Dattatraya Deo of Poona and Vasudev Vithal Dastane of Bhusawal. The sm and substance of Gandhi's speeches was the wearing of *khaddar*. Part of the money collected is for memorials for C. R. Das and Swami Shraddhanand. The taluka local board at Jamner and the municipalities of Jalgaon and Amalner presented Gandhi with addresses. Indra, the son of Shraddhanand, accompanied Gandhi part of the way. The Right Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri visited Gandhi at Raver and Jalgaon probably in connection with the South African question.

Page 98, Para 199.

Nasik, February 19.—M. K. Gandhi visited the Nasik district on February 15. He addressed a meeting of 2,000 people at Malegaon where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 500 but being dissatisfied with the amount a collection was made on the spot, Mrs. Gandhi herself approaching the women. Less than Rs. 10 was raised at Nandgaon; a public meeting was held which was attended by 2,000 persons. There were 7 other speakers, including a Mahar railway employee, and purse of Rs. 501 was presented. When he arrived at Nasik Road on February 15, about 15 leaders met him at the railway station, but no Responsivists except Patankar. He proceeded by car to Nasik where he was publicly received at the house of

Chagan Damodar Shroff. He then visited the Bhangi Laxmi Narayan Mandir, Shahu Chatrapati Mahar Hostel, the Panjrapole. and Anath Vidyarthi Griha at Panchvati. At the latter place he was presented with a purse of Rs. 11 which he returned. A *khaddar* shop was opened near where he stayed and Rs. 200 worth of *khaddar* was sold.

While addressing a meeting in the evening at Nasik, a pamphlet of eight questions with its translation in Hindi was handed over to him. It is said that this was the work of certain Responsivists. When he had answered the questions put to him advised the audience, numbering about 6,000 people, to wear *khaddar* and to purchase it. At the end of the meeting he was handed a purse of Rs. 1,387.

When he passed through Sinnar, preparations were made for a public meeting near where the motors stop. About 300 persons assembled and hardly a dozen were in *khaddar*. There was much comment when he refused to get out of the car, but a purse of Rs 101 was, however, given to him. The comment of the older men was that Tilak would not have been so discourteous. The constant changes in his plans caused some disappointment. He left Nasik for Sangamner (Ahmadnagar District) on February 16.

Page 99, Para 200.

Ahmadnagar, February 19.—The only matter worth reporting is M. K. Gandhi's visit to the district during the week. He arrived at Sangamner with his party at 10 p.m. on February 16. On the morning of the 17th he was given an address of welcome. He then addressed a crowd of about 1,000 persons for 20 minutes, after which he realised a sum of Rs. 450 by the sale of *khaddar* and by contributions. He then left for Kopergaon which he reached at 10 a.m. At 3 p.m. he was welcomed by about 2,500 persons in Gandhi Chowk, and was given an address by the merchant's association. After Gandhi had briefly replied, a collection was made and a silver plate and casket were auctioned. The total sum realised amounted to Rs. 1,000. At 3-45 p.m. he left for Belapur, where he was accorded a similar reception to that at Kopergaon, and was welcomed by about 5,000 people. At Belapur, Gandhi was presented with a purse of Rs. 60, and a bangle and ring which were put up for auction and fetched Rs. 120. At 7-30 p.m. he and his followers left for Ahmadnagar, which they reached at 9 p.m. Next morning (February 18), Gandhi visited several institutions in the city, such as the Rashtriya Pathasala, the Ayurveda Vidyalaya, etc., and delivered lectures on *khaddar* and the brotherhood of Indians, in the Vishram Bag, the Bagde Theatre and on the Gandhi Maidan to audiences numbering 3,000, 1,200 and 2,000 respectively. The municipality and the district local board also gave him addresses of welcome. A purse of Rs. 1,750 was presented to him. By auctioning a casket and garlands and with the saleproceeds of *khaddar*, a sum of Rs. 5,000 was realised. At 4-45 p.m. Gandhi left Ahmadnagar for Mirajgaon, *en-route* to Sholapur. At Mirajgaon he was accorded a welcome by 1,500 people and given a purse of Rs. 250. An additional sum of Rs. 150 was collected at a meeting addressed by him. Gandhi passed the night in the travellers' bungalow at Mirajgaon, and next morning at 6-30 left for Karmala (Sholapur district) accompanied by about 20 volunteers. During Gandhi's tour in this district, his speeches call for no particular mention. He confined himself to his usual themes *khaddar*, untouchability.

Page 104, Para 212.

February 1, 1927.—The *Maharashtra*, dated the 20th February 1927 understands that Mahatma Gandhi gave the following reply to Shapurji Saklatwalla as a result of their interview at Yeotmal.

"Your programme is impracticable in India and I am not prepared to help it. I have to spread only the *khadi* programme. If you think that your programme is practicable in India, you might return to India from England and make attempts to make it a success."

Page 106, Para 223 (1 and 2).

(1) *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 10.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on March 4. He addressed several meetings the largest of which was attended by an audience of 10,000 people at the Reay Market. He was presented with a purse of Rs. 5,152 by Dr. V. D. Phatak. The same evening he addressed a meeting of about 3,000, mostly students. His speeches were in the usual strain advocating the wearing of *khaddar*, which in his opinion was the only method of obtaining *swaraj*. He also openly advised the students to observe celibacy.

Page 112, Para. 242.

Sholapur, March 16.—M. K. Gandhi, accompanied "by his wife. W. V. Dastane and Mahadev Haribhai Desai, arrived in the Sholapur district on February 19. He addressed 10 meetings in the district on his pet subject "*khaddar*". The total collections made by him during his tour, amounted to Rs. 8,596 of which the largest sum, viz. Rs. 6251, was given to him at Sholapur. Here he was also presented with an address by the municipality on February 21. At a public meeting at Sholapur on this day, he referred to a leaflet that had been distributed purporting to have been signed by 10 members of the Kelkar party wherein he was accused of siding with the Mohammedans on occasions of Hindu-Muslim riots and causelessly blaming the Hindus. He was asked to pay a surprise visit to Sholapur, when he would find that those around him who were wearing *khadi* were not true lovers of *khadi* and were only making an outward show in this respect. To this he replied that he was never partial but treated both communities alike and would always continue to do so.

At Karmala and Barshi meetings he openly said that he was dissatisfied with the purses presented to him, Gandhi left for Gulbarga on February 22.

He returned from Gulbarga on February 23 in the morning and proceeded to Pandharpur. At Pandharpur he was presented with a purse of Rs. 125. He left for Phaltan on the morning of February 24.

Page 112, Para. 243.

Ratnagiri, March 5.—During M. K. Gandhi's visit (February 27 to March 2) to the Ratnagiri district, 10 meetings were held in various parts of the district, with audiences varying between 600 and 3,000 persons. Gandhi addressed most of the meetings in which he made the usual appeal for the use of *khaddar* and the abolition of untouchability. The total collection realised by him amounted to Rs. 5,449 for *khaddar* propaganda.

Gandhi paid a visit to V. D. Savarkar on March 3.

Para 243-A.

Kolaba, March 5.—During his visit to the Kolaba district between March 2nd and 3rd, M. K. Gandhi addressed eight meetings at various places in

the district. On each of these occasions he spoke on the necessity of *khadi*, the use of the *charkha*, Hindu-Muslim unity, and removal of untouchability. At Alibag he was presented with addresses of welcome by the District Local Board, the Alibag Municipality and other private institutions. The total collections received by him amounted to Rs. 3,699. Gandhi left for Poona on March 3, 1927.

Page 126, Para 284.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 29.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Kolhapur on March 25. He addressed four meetings there. Speaking to an audience of ladies numbering about 500, he preached to them the advantage of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and appealed to them to help his *khadi* propaganda. In response some ladies gave their ornaments to him for this purpose. Replying to the students who presented him with a purse of Rs. 385, he advised them to be fearless, religious and truthful and to Use *swadeshi* cloth, preferably *khadi*.

At a meeting convened later, in the evening, he was presented with an address by the citizens. Here he said that his principle object in coming to Kolhapur was to spread *khadi* and appealed to them to remove untouchability and to buy all *khadi* that was exhibited. The audience on this Occasion numbered about 5,000 people.

Speaking at another gathering, he dwelt on the use of *khadi* and the evils Of drinking. In the course of this visit he laid the foundation stone of ' *khadi house* ' near the hostel of the *Vidyapeeth* on the Kalamba Road. He also visited the Arya Samaj Schools, the American Mission Girls Schools and the Panjarpol. The total collections made by him amounted to Rs. 3,385 in all. He then left for Nipani at 9-15 p.m. and is reported to have taken ' ill there. He has been advised by his medical attendant to cancel his tour and take complete rest.

Page 132, Para. 307.

M, K. Gapdhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of March 23. He was, given a purse by the Suburban District Congress Committee of Santa Cruz on the night of March 23. The next morning he visited *Jiv Daya Mandali* at Ghatkopar. He left Bombay for Poona in the afternoon of March 24 on his, way to Kolhapur and Karnatak. He attended no public functions in Bombay;

Page 402, Para. 872.

Bombay -City S,B,, October. 31.—In response to the invitation from His Excellency the Viceroy to attend the Conference at Delhi, M. K. Gandhi arriyed in Bombay from Mangalore by S. S. *Vegavati* on the morning of October 29 and left for Delhi by the B.B. & Cl. Punjab Mail the next day.

There was no public function in his honour.

Page 408, Para. 889-A.

Bombay City S.B., November 7.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of November 6. and left for Colombo the next (7th Nov.) morning I
by the S.S.Querimba .

Para (Serial No.21).

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand,
Profession—Barrister-at Law.

Description.—Caste Bania; age 59; height 5 feet 6 inches; thin build; wheat complexion, small moustache; no beard; wears a *khadi* shirt; short *dhoti*, a white cap and sandals.

Residence.—Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad.

'Conviction.—was sentenced to 6 years S.I. on March 18, 1922, under section 124-A, I.P.C.; but was released unconditionally on February 5, 1924.

Page 642, Para 1561.

Bombay City S. B. September 25.—A meeting of, the textile students of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was held on the 'maidam' opposite the Institute at Matunga on September 25. K. N. Gokli presided. About 20 students were present.

The president said that the decision of the chairman of the Board of the Institute was regrettable. The chairman would not allow the students to weave the portrait of Gandhi in the school and it was a very great insult to that patriot and leader. He said that the decision should have been put upon the school notice board, but apparently the authorities were afraid of the criticism in the press. He asked the students to unite as they had done" at the time of arrival of the Simon Commission and continue to protest against the decision till successful.

A resolution protesting against the decision of the Board was passed.

Page 818, Para 1908.

'East Khandesh, November 24.—M. K. Gandhi passed through Jalgaon *en-route* to Wardha, Central Province, on November 24. He was garlanded at the station by W. V. Dastane and four or five others. He came *via* Amalner Tapti-Valley Railway.

Page 840, Para 1957.

Bombay City S. B., December 5.—Under the auspices of the Bombay Youth League a public meeting to protest against the ban on M. K. Gandhi's portrait was held at the Peoples Jinnah Hall on December 4. About 200 people, mostly students, attended. B. G. Horniman presided. B. G. Horniman criticised the tendency of the Education Department to belittle the greatness of India and her national heroes and said that in the present instance it was most wonderful that the authorities of the V. J.T. Institute should consider Gandhi as an undesirable man whose portrait could not be woven. It was the policy of Government to hurl disgraceful insults with a view to humiliating the Indians and their revered leaders. It was up to the students to resent the insult and assert their right to do - honour to the great man (Gandhi).

A resolution, protesting against the attitude of the V.J.T. Institute authorities for imposing a ban against the weaving of Gandhi's portrait and requesting the members of the Municipal Corporation to support K. F. Nariman's motion on the subject, was moved by M. C. Chagla.

Y. J. Meherali seconded it. He assured the students of the V. J. Technical Institute that the Youth League would stand by them until the ban was removed. He would also place the matter for discussion before the All India Youth Conference to be held at Poona "and would carry out the mandate given by the conference.

Jamnadas M. Mehta suggested that the students should wear fine miniature photos of Gandhi and should not submit to any unjustifiable order given by the principal in respect thereof. He said that he was assured "by a merchant of Bombay that the students who suffered on that account would be amply compensated for.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Page 841, Para 1958.

From the Central Provinces Secret Abstract dated December 8, 1928— Wardha, December 1.—Mahatma Gandhi arrived at Wardha to spend a month of rest before going to attend the Congress. He is putting up in the *Ashram* and Jamanalal is looking after him.

Page 24, Para 61-62.

(2) From the Central Provinces Secret Abstract dated December 15, 1928, Para 603(1) Wardha, December 8, 1928.—With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, the following other persons arrived at Wardha: —

1. Shri Krishna Deo from Dhulia.
2. Ghanshyam Das Birla, and Parasnath from Calcutta.
3. Hari Bhau Upadhye, from Khandwa.
4. Kirpalani, from Benares.

Mahatma Gandhi and Birla took prominent part in the observance of "Lala Lajpatrai day" on the 29th November 1928, when the Lala's photograph was taken in a procession and after this a big meeting was addressed by the leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. The response to an appeal for funds towards the Lala's memorial fund was generous and about Rs. 18,000 was promised on the spot. Shri Krishna Deo addressed two other small meetings on *Khadi* and *Samarth* (Ramdas Swami, a Hindu saint). The general atmosphere was peaceful on the whole.

Page 273, Para 710.

(2) Bombay City S. B., April 6.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Anmedabad on April 5. He was received at the Grant Road railway station by K. F. Nariman, Y. J. Meherali and about 10 other persons.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a public meeting was held at the Congress house on April 5, where he addressed an audience of about 500 people, on the importance of *khaddar* and the boycott of foreign cloth. He appealed to the audience to discard their foreign clothes as a token of their sincerity.

About 50 foreign caps and a few other clothes were thrown on the platform. At the close of the meeting the foreign made clothes were burnt inside the Congress House compound.

A gold ring was presented to him at this meeting and it was thrice auctioned ultimately fetching Rs. 446 in all.

He then opened the Umer Sobani Library in the newly erected building in the Congress House compound.

He also opened the *Khadi Bazaar* organised by the Bombay Youth League in the People's Jinnah Hall. The *Bazaar* contained about 18 stalls of *khaddar* and other Indian-made articles.

He then opened the Khadi Printing and Dyeing work at 113, Girgaum Back Road.

After this he addressed another public meeting at Ranchhoddas Khanji's Wadi, Girgaum Back Road. About 700 people including about 50 ladies, were present. He made a short speech advocating the use of *khaddar* and boycott of foreign cloth. He also made an appeal for funds for the boycott propaganda. Several ladies threw their necklaces and other ornaments which were auctioned after the meeting. About Rs. 760 were realised. This amount together with Rs. 446 realised by the auction of the ring at the Congress House was given to the Boycott Propaganda Committee.

He left for Hyderabad, Deccan, the same night *en route* to Madras.

(3) *Sholapur, April 6.*—M. K. Gandhi passed through Sholapur by train on his way to Hyderabad on April 6. He was met at the station by H. G. Salgarkar *alias* Kunjbihari and Vaikuntlal Thakor, the manaser of the Old Mill, Sholapur.

Page 411, Para 1014.

Bombay City S. B., May 26.—A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in Bombay at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall on May 24 and 25, under the Presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. About 300 people attended each day including about a hundred members of the All India Congress Committee. The following were prominent.

Dr. M. A. Ansari, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, C. V. Vaidya, Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Hari Sarvottam Rao, B. G. Horniman, H. L. Hutchinson, Mrs. Suhashini Nambiar, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, S. Srinivas Iyengar, S. Satyamurti, Y. J. Meherally, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Jamnadas, M. Mehta, Jamnalal Bajaj, N. C. Kelkar, K. F. Nariman, K. Matrajan, C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya, Raja Rao, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Ganga-dhar B. Deshpande, Dr. B. S. Munje, T. Vishvanathan. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Dawlatram. M. K. Gandhi attended on the 25th only.

The All India Congress Committee Session was expected to be a very lively one both by the members of the All India Congress Committee as well as by the public in view of the proposal of the Tamil Nadu group that Congressmen should be allowed to accept office under Government. The excitement was kept up till the second day of the session when suddenly S. Satyamurti made the following declaration in the open session of the All India Congress Committee.

In view of the opposition that has been strongly expressed in the country against the proposal of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for permission to the Council party to accept ministerships under certain conditions and also in view of the Viceregal pronouncement regarding the extension of the present terms of the legislatures, we have decided not to press forward that proposal although the majority of the members of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee feel keenly about it."

The following resolutions have been passed: —

(1) Notwithstanding the fundamental differences in the policy and opinion between the Congress and Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala, and without committing itself, to his Communist policy, this Committee expresses its admiration for the brave and plucky fight that he is putting up against exploitation and imperialism in the face of the overwhelming odds and wishes him all success in his parliamentary campaign.

(2) The All India Congress Committee shall have power to take the disciplinary action against—

(a) any committee of the Congress which deliberately acts against the declared policy of the Congress.

(b).any office-bearer of the Congress Committee who deliberately acts against the declared policy of the Congress.

(c) any member of the Congress Committee who is shown to the satisfaction of the All India Congress Committee or its Working Committee to have been responsible for embezzlement or gross mismanagement of public funds, or to have broken a pledge with the All India Congress Committee or any Committee appointed by it.

(3)In the event of the Provincial Congress Committee not paying its annual contribution under article IX of the constitution to the All India Congress Committee within the date fixed by the latter the All India Congress Committee members representing the defaulting province shall be debarred from participation in meetings of the committee.

(4)This Committee resolves that a budget be prepared by the Working Committee of the expenditure and income of the All India Congress Committee for the latter's approval each year not later than May.

(5)That a Congress manual be prepared and published embodying authoritative chapters on the various political, administrative and cultural problems comprised by the *swaraj* movement and that the All India Congress Committee to incur the necessary expenditure therefore and that the work be entrusted to the Working Committee.

(6)This Committee authorises the Working Committee of the Congress to consider the question of re-allotment of States that are now attached to the Province of Ajmer.

(7)(a) This Committee congratulates the Indians in East Africa on their maintaining cordial relationship with the East Africans and trusts that they will continue to maintain those relations and recognise the interests of the original inhabitants to be superior to all other interests.

(b) This Committee assures the Indians in Kenya of every support in their struggle for the achievement of a political and economical equality in East Africa.

(8)This Conference recommends to the All India Congress Committee that in the opinion of this Conference the great poverty and misery of Indian people are due not only to the foreign exploitation of India but also to the economic structure of society which the alien rulers support so that their exploitations may continue. In order, therefore, to remove his poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities. Provisions should be made for providing a living wage for every worker, to tax heavily all unearned incomes, to supply adequate land to the peasants, and to protect them from the interference of all middlemen.

(9)This Committee having heard of an important pronouncement from the president regarding the communique of the Governor-General for extending the life of the Legislative Assembly, realises the gravity of the situation and, in order to enable the country promptly to take such action as may be necessary to meet the exigencies of the situation, authorises the Working Committee to adopt such measures as it may consider fit in the interest of the country, as regards the action to be taken by the members of the Council party in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils.

(10) (Moved by M. K. Gandhi). In view of the campaign of repression. which the British Government is carrying on all over the country, as evidenced by the conviction of Mr. Sambamurti, a member of the Working Committee, and many other national workers, and by the wholesale arrests

and barbarous treatment to the members of the All India Congress Committee and to the labour leaders and workers, now awaiting their trial at Meerut, and the unwarranted house searches and the wanton confiscation of Dr. Sunderlands's *History of the British Rule in India*, this Committee is of opinion that the nation should be prepared for efficient resistance by such methods as would make the resistance as nation-wide as possible. The Committee thinks this would be impossible unless the whole Congress organisation was reconstructed on a satisfactory basis. This Committee, therefore, calls upon the heads of the provincial organisations to reconstruct their respective provinces, so as to fulfil the following minimum requirements.

The provincial organisations shall have not less than one-fourth of their total population as their original number, and not less than fifty per cent. represent them. The district organisations shall have not less than one per cent of their total population as their original number, and not less than fifty per cent to represent them. The tahsil organisations shall have not less than one per cent of their total population as their original number, and not less than ten per cent, to represent them. The village organisations shall have not less than three per cent of their total population as the original number. For the Provinces of Bombay and Delhi, original number shall not be less than three per cent of their respective total populations. For the Province of Burma, the Working Committee shall instruct as may appear to it reasonable, after consulting the workers in the province. It is recognised by this Committee that if the local committee does not satisfy the foregoing test by 31st August 1929, the Working Committee should disaffiliate any organisation that does not carry out the instructions issued from time to time either by the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee.

(11) The All India Congress Committee notes with sorrow and indignation the ruthless repression recently adopted by the Punjab Government against the Congress workers, which gave rise to a strong suspicion that it is done with a view *inter alia* to interfere with the preparations that were going on in the Punjab for the forthcoming Congress Session. The Committee notes with satisfaction that this repression has in no way damped the zeal of workers and hopes for the success of the movement they are carrying on. D. Kullande, advocate, Madras, wanted to move the following resolution.

"In view of the disciplinary resolution passed yesterday the All India Congress Committee does take a disciplinary action that may be feasible. under the circumstances, against Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President, for attending the Viceregal Tea Party at Delhi and against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for having organised a tea party in honour of the Viceroy in spite of the Congress ban on such functions "; but the president ruled it out of order as early notice of the motion was not given to the All India Congress Committee of the Working Committee.

At the close of the second day's proceedings Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced that the Working Committee had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,500 for the defence of the accused in the Meerut Case.

Page 414, Para 1015.

(5) *Bombay City S. B., May 26.*—A meeting of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee was held in Bombay on May 23 and 24 at M. K. Gandhi's residence at Laburnum Road, Gamdevi. Amongst those present were M. K. Gandhi. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari. Pandit Nehru, Seth Jamna-lal Bajaj, Vallabhbhai J. Patel. Satishchandra Das Gupta and Jairamdas

Dawlatram. The Committee co-opted Jamnalal Bajaj, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Satishchandra Das Gupta as members and appointed Jamnalal Bajaj as the treasurer of the Committee. The meeting adopted the report and the statement of accounts submitted by Jairamdas Dawlatram and passed the following resolutions:—

(a) The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee notes the response made by the people in the course of the last three months to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth laid down by the Working Committee and urges all Congress committees and other organisations co-operating in the boycott campaign to carry out that programme with even greater vigour during the remaining part of the year.

(b) The Committee suggests that in accordance with the fresh programme organised efforts should be made by the above organisations to concentrate on (1) organising propaganda parties for touring outside large towns; (2) arranging house-to-house visits for converting people to the boycott of foreign cloth; (3) holding of public meetings where house to-house propaganda is not feasible; (4) selling of *khadi* as often during each week as possible; (5) collecting sufficient funds to run small *khadi* depots wherever necessary; (6) organising street propaganda and Nagar *kirtan* parties on every Sunday and Wednesday in the week; (7) engaging of special boycott activity on the first Sunday on each month, i.e. 2nd June, 7th July, 4th August and 1st September; (8) arranging requisitions for special meetings of local bodies which have not so far considered the suggestions made by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee for securing their co-operation in the Boycott campaign; (9) posting weekly reports of foreign cloth boycott work; (10) observing 2nd October 1929, as Foreign Cloth boycott day.

Page 418, Para 1023.

Bombay City S. B.. May 27.—The second session of the Indian States Peoples Conference was held in Bombay on May 25 and 26 at the Royal Opera House under the Presidentship of C. Y. Chintamani. About 800 people, including about 200 delegates from the various States were present each day. The following were prominent.

M. K. Gandhi, N. C. Kelkar, Diwan Bahadur Ramchandras Rao. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, S. Satyamurti, Jamnalal Bajaj. L. R. Tairsee, K. F. Nariman, Dr. Sumant Mehta, D. G. Dalvi. Wamanrao Naik. Sardar Sardul Singh, Atiya Begum, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, K. Natrajan and Jamuadas M. Mehta.

The proceedings commenced with the speech of G. R. Abhyankar. chairman of the reception committee, who said that neither the Butler Committee nor the Simon Commission had touched the internal aspects of the problems of the Indian States with which the subjects of the Native States were vitally concerned. In his opinion the civil list should be determined, regard being had to the immediate wants of a ruler and to the income of the State. He added that people in every State should expose the jugglery of the budget figures and also expose the real amount which a ruler spent for his private purposes. He concluded with the remarks that if the ruler did not accept the fixed civil list, they should demand his removal from the paramount power.

Messages of sympathy from Lord Oliver, Colonel Wedgwood, Messrs. Lansbury, Rutherford, Polak, Sir Vishweshwar Ayer, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas were then read.

On the proposal of S. Satyamurti, seconded by Sardul Singh and supported by Jamnalal Bajaj, Waman Naik, Miss Sharda Mehta and L. R. Tairsee, C. Y. Chintamani was elected to preside over the Conference. C. Y. Chintamani then read out his printed address strongly condemning the Butler Committee's report. He suggested that the important organisations in British India as well as in the Native States, such as the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation and the Indian States Peoples Conference should meet together and draw up a scheme of federal constitution for India. He regarded the Butler report as a blow to the legitimate rights of the Princes and the people of India. He described the Butler Committee's report as bad in its origin, bad in the time chosen for its appointment, bad in its terms of reference, bad in its personnel and bad in its line of inquiry. Finally he requested the ruling Princes of the Indian States to invite a few leading public men of British-India and Indian-States to confer with them as to the best means of bringing about a Federal Union.

Some of the more interesting resolutions passed are given below:-

1. Expressing its strong condemnation of the method and manner in which the Indian States Committee conducted its proceedings. The Committee should have afforded to the people of the Indian States the same facilities as it afforded to the Princes for placing their views before the Committee; and the fact that the enquiry was held in camera has made the report one sided, utterly unacceptable and valueless.

2. Urging that for the speedy attainment of *swaraj* for India as a whole, the Indian States should be brought into constitutional relations with British India.

3. (a) Condemning the recommendations of the Butler Committee that the relations of the Indian States should be directly with the Crown through the Viceroy and not with the Government of India.

(b) In the opinion of this Conference, such a proposal to partition India into two separate halves with a divided allegiance will have mischievous effect upon the progress of the country as a whole, and in particular, of the States.

4. Inviting furtherance of the united national demand for Responsible Government and for a Federal Government for the whole of India the cooperation of the political organisations of British India, and begging to offer its co-operation to them on a joint national committee representative of both the States and the Provinces.

5. Urging that the Political Department should contain strong Indian element.

6. (a) Urging on the Rulers of States that representative institutions be established in their States on an elective basis for local self-government and for the purpose of legislation, taxation and control of general administration.

(b) The budget of State should be presented to and voted upon by the Legislative Councils with a majority of elected members upon them.

(c) The amount of the privy purse should be fixed by the Legislature, subject to revision every five years.

(d) There should be an independent audit of the accounts of the States.

(e) There should be an independent Judiciary separated entirely from the Executive and that the personal intervention of the Princes in the administration of justice should cease absolutely.

7. Declaring strong faith in self-reliant efforts as the most proper and effective means for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and resolving that organisations may be started in the States to do constructive work in the shape of co-operative societies, *khaddar*, temperance, the uplift of the backward classes and the establishment of village panchayats.

8. Resolving to appoint an executive committee of seventy members with powers to co-opt, thirty members to carry out the resolutions of the Conference and to promote the objects of the Conference till the next session. The working committee to have 12 members.

9. Calling upon every Ruling Prince in India to immediately introduce compulsory military training in the educational institutions of the States.

Page 643, Para 1507.

Bombay City, S. B., August 17.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on August 11 and had friendly conversation with Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Ali Brothers regarding Hindu-Muslim relationship. It is learnt that Gandhi urged upon Jinnah and the Ali Brothers the urgent necessity of taking some action to bring about a rapprochement between the two communities. Jinnah replied that he was always ready to what he could do to achieve that end. He, however, pointed out that the majority of the Musalmans were not prepared to accept the recommendations of the Nehru Report, and that the Sikh community had also expressed its dissatisfaction at it. Jinnah and the Ali Brothers are reported to have urged upon Gandhi the necessity of prevailing upon Pandit Motilal Nehru and his supporters to accede to the modest demands of Musalmans.

Page 676, Para 1597.

Bandra, September 7.—On September 7, M. K. Gandhi visited Vile Parle, and opened a "*Khadi Bazaar*" at the National School. About 1,000 people were present and Gandhi spoke a few words in Gujarati, advising the audience to use *swadeshi* cloth and to encourage national education, by which alone *swaraj* could be obtained. A sum of Rs. 106-4-0 was handed to Gandhi at the meeting on behalf of the National School by one Gokul-bhai Daulatram. In the afternoon, Gandhi visited the Tilak Mandir at Vile Parle, but made no speech. He was accompanied by Miss Slade.

The *Khadi Bazaar* was held for two days on September 8 and 9.

Page 710, Para 1677.

Bombay City, S. B., September 9.—M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Jamnalal Bajaj and Mirabai *alias* Miss Slade, arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on September 7. The party left the same day for Bhopal.

Page 1022, Para 2281.

East Khandesh, December 7.—M. K. Gandhi passed through Bhusawal on his journey to Wardha, but did not leave the railway station.

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Page 23, Para 36.

West Khandesh, December 14, 1929.—M. K. Gandhi passed through Navapur on December 6 by train. A crowd assembled at the station and he was presented with subscriptions amounting to Rs. 15 or Rs. 16. The amount was too small apparently to be worthy of a speech.

Page 303, Para 436.

M. K. Gandhi's release from Yervada Central Prison, Poona on 26th January 1931 and Gandhi and party left Yervada on January 27 for Allahabad *via* Bombay.

Page 368, Para 511.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 24.—*Young India* now appears under the signature of M. K. Gandhi. In the issue dated February 19 he states that he has resumed the editorship. The late editor, J. C. Kumarappa, also contributes an article criticising the Borsad incident.

Page 660, Para 873(15).

Extract from the *Delhi Secret Abstract* dated February 28, 1931.

Nasik, March 14.—A meeting addressed by Mahatma Gandhi was held in the Hindu College on 25th February 1931 under the presidentship of the Principal of the College, Mr. S. K. Sen, and was attended by about 900 students and practically all the Indian and European members of the staff of the Hindu and St. Stephen's and Law Colleges, the Registrar of the University was also present.

Gandhi in his speech pressed for Hindu-Musalman unity, and the cooperation of the youths of India in the present movement.

Page 668, Para 940 (3)(4)(5)6.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee convened two meetings in the mill area on March 16, which were addressed by M. K. Gandhi.

One of the meetings was held at 8-30 p.m. at Parel. About 20,000 persons attended the meeting, prominent amongst whom were K. F. Nariman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mukund Malaviya, B. T. Ranadive, G. L. Kandalkar, Miss Slade, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, V. H. Joshi, Sundar Kabadi, R. M. Jambhekar, Vasant Khale, V. H. Kulkarni, S. B. Mahadeshwar and A. A. Shaikh.

About 300 Congress volunteers in *khaki* were in attendance.

At about 7-00 p.m. on that day, B. T. Ranadive collected about 100 members of the young Workers' League at Lal Baug and went in procession to the place of meeting. The processionists were carrying red flags and placards bearing the following inscriptions:—

1. Victory to the Meerut Prisoners.
2. Victory to the Lahore Conspiracy case.
3. Down with the Truce makers.
4. Victory to the Working Classes.

When they arrived at the place of meeting they were stopped from going on to the platform by S. B. Mahadeshwar and other Congress volunteers. Mahadeshwar was, therefore, slapped on the face by one of the processionists. About 50 processionists rushed on the platform and hoisted the red flag by the side of the Congress tri-coloured flag. This caused some excitement among the audience for some time. One man fainted and fell down on the platform. Quiet was, however, soon restored. Gandhi arrived at 8-30 p.m. and the proceedings of the meeting commenced. B. T. Ranadive at the outset condemned the Delhi agreement characterising it as a betrayal of the workers and peasants in India. He asked Gandhi whether any of the communists or the workers and peasants in India were consulted

before concluding the truce. He emphatically stated that the agreement was beneficial only to the Princes, landlords and the capitalists. He enquired of Gandhi as to why he had given up his eleven points and why he did not do anything for the release of the Meerut prisoners and for Bhagat Singh and others. He declared that unless the present imperialist system of Government was destroyed, independence could not be achieved in India. He asked the peasants and workers of India to continue the fight for independence to the bitter end.

G. L. Kandalkar following Ranadive also condemned the agreement and explained that the Bombay mill-hands had joined the Civil Disobedience campaign with the hope of securing independence. He declared that the workers had no quarrel with the Congress, but that they had every right to press for their demands. He pointed out that when the men of the Standard Mill belonging to Congressman, struck work for increase in wages. he sent for the Police and had them beaten. He declared that the agreement was useful only to the capitalists and that labour leaders were still being sent to jail.

M. K. Gandhi in his speech explained the implications of the truce and declared that he had never betrayed the workers in his life and that the independence resolution of the Lahore Congress would be reiterated at the Karachi Congress. Replying to the criticisms of B. T. Ranadive, he said that he had been living with the workers in South Africa and working in their interests much before communism was known in India. Referring to the demand about the release of the Meerut prisoners, he said that he was unable at that stage to insist on their release but assured the workers that if they would help him in increasing the strength of the Congress not only the Meerut prisoners but all the non-political prisoners would come out of jail. He advised the young workers to be patient. He said that he did not wish to do harm to the Princes and the Capitalists. He said that the capitalists in India had suffered a lot during the last twelve months and that they deserved his sympathy. He added that if any of the people did not agree with his views at the meeting they were welcome to put forth their views before the Congress at Karachi. Referring to his eleven points he stated that they were formulated before the Civil Disobedience movement was started and that the *Swaraj* scheme which would be formulated would include them.

Another meeting of about 15,000 people was addressed by M. K. Gandhi at Dadar near the Tilak Bridge the same night. K. F. Nariman presided. He spoke in much the same strain above and wound up by saying that the agreement was only a truce and not permanent peace.

Bombay Suburban District, March 21.—The Congress leaders were busy up to March 18 making preparations to receive M. K. Gandhi and collecting money to be presented to him in a purse. Some Rs. 10,000 were collected in Ghatkopar while G. S. Rindani and V. P. Desai collected Rs. 5,000 including Rs. 1,000 from Mulraj Khatav.

On March 18, M. K. Gandhi came to Ville Parle at 7 a.m. and visited the Bhagini Sewa Mandir. He held private interviews with the women workers of the Suburbs for about an hour and then attended the meeting in the church compound just before the conclusion of Vallabhbhai J. Patel's address. After the meeting he went to the Chawai at about 9-30 a.m. where he had a private talk for a couple of hours with Maharashtrian leaders.

He then motored to Andheri Station in the noon to catch the Frontier Mail and left for Delhi with Seth Jamnalal Bajaj by 1 p.m. The Frontier

Mail was specially stopped for about two minutes at Andheri Station to pick up Gandhi. Gandhi was garlanded on behalf of the Railway Staff. Among those present on the Andheri Railway Station platform were Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Surji Vallabhdas and Mrs. Jankibai Bajaj. Among those who left for Delhi by the same train were Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Vallabh-bhai Patel, (the President-elect of the Karachi Congress) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Mahadeo Desai, Devidas Gandhi and several other members of the Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

At Ville-Parle on March 18, there was a large gathering of about 8,000 to 10,000 people to see M. K. Gandhi. The President was K. Natrajan and the speakers Vallabhabhai J. Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Swami Anand and Sakinabai Lukmani.

M. K. Gandhi also spoke. He said that constructive work should be vigorously carried on; if Congress failed in obtaining their demands, the nation was free to carry on the fight; nothing would be achieved by arguments alone. Their strength should be increased. He had received numerous letters to the effect that political prisoners were not yet released: that people were arrested and *lathis* used. He advised them to have patience.

Mrs. Kamalabai Sonawala presented a purse of Rs. 52,465 to Gandhi. Then Jamnalal Bajaj sold by auction a gold Takli which Gandhi had been working on during the meeting. It fetched Rs. 5,000 (bought by Ram Narayan Harchandrai of Bombay). A sandalwood box given to Gandhi by the Chawani leaders was also auctioned for Rs. 1,000.

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SPEECH AT KAMGAR MAIDAN, PAREL

I was aware of the existence of Communists in India, said Gandhiji, but I had never seen them outside the Meerut Jail. It was in my tour of the United Provinces that I went to Meerut and visited prisoners of the conspiracy case. I have heard and understood what Mr. B. T. Ranadive said just now and I have also heard Mr. G. L. Khandalkar. I have been with the workers from a time when the Communist organisation in India was not even born. I was actually living with the workers and sharing their joys and sorrows.

In South Africa throughout my stay, I worked with the workers (cries of 'No 'no ').

You are young men but you must be patient and hear me fully. You can even come to me after this meeting and I will spare some time for you and have a discussion with you. I have tried to understand Communism and to adopt whatever good is in it. (Cries: You have not understood it.) This is not the way to bring people round to your views. If you want it is open for you to convert the Congress to your view. If you want the country to go with you, you must bring it round to your view.

Addressing the workers, he said that the Delhi Agreement which was ratified by the Working Committee of the Congress had nothing in it that will go against the workers. I have never in my life betrayed the workers and shall never do it. If the Congress representatives go to the Round Table Conference, they will not go there to do any harm to the cause of workers. The Congress has been trying to attain *swaraj* even before the Communists in India were born. The *swaraj* for which the Congress has been fighting is not only to be for the workers in the cities,

who, at least get something for their subsistence but it is also meant for the millions who are living in villages and are facing starvation from day-to-day.

Never for a moment think that the *swaraj* that we are trying to achieve is only for the capitalists or the provinces. I do not want to deceive you and I openly admit that I do not wish to harm the princes and the capitalists. What I am trying to do is bring about a change of heart in them and I am confident that they will do full justice. We have the history of Japan before us where the capitalists have offered many a sacrifice and in our own country we have the same example repeated during the last twelve months. Our capitalists helped us financially. Many of them went to jail and faced sufferings. (Cries: 'They got "A" class in jail "').

You are free to accept what I say or to reject it. I only want to open my heart to you. I want the workers to realise their strength and to do a thing which will in the long run benefit them.

As regards the Meerut prisoners I wish to say, I want not only the Meerut prisoners and all other political prisoners to be released but I want every prisoner who is in jail to be released. But I must not be unfair or unjust in my demands. It was not possible for me to insist on their release as a condition precedent to the truce, but I did all that was possible for their release and if you help me to increase the strength of the Congress. I assure you that not only the Meerut prisoners but even all the non-political prisoners will come out of jail.

You have referred to complete independence. Do you think that I do not want complete independence? (Cries: ' You want Dominion Status. You want substance of independence'). Yes. I want the substance and not the shadow of independence. It is not a thing which should make you so impatient as not to agree to wait for a few months. The Congress will stick to the Independence resolution of the Lahore Congress which will be again reiterated at Karachi and if the Congress sent representatives to the Round Table Conference they will be sent with a clear mandate not to accept any scheme which does not give substance of independence. It is likely that you may not get anything in the Conference. I do not suggest that we shall get anything there. But I can say that in case that it does not give us anything, we shall come back empty handed and restart the fight.

You have asked me about the 11 points. I feel that those points contain the substance of independence. The rights of the workers are well protected. I had formulated these points before the civil disobedience movement started and they were placed before the Government as an alternative to the civil disobedience. Then there was no talk of attending the Conference. I assure you that if the Conference succeeds the scheme of *Swaraj* that will be accepted will contain these eleven points. If it does not then I will not accept such scheme. God has given you intelligence. (Cries: There is no God). Make use of it.

The Bombay Chronicle, March 17, 1931

SPEECH AT TILAK BRIDGE, DADAR

I am returning from a meeting of workers at Parel. I have very little time to spare, but I am confident that the workers do not need any lengthy speeches. I have just received a letter asking me several questions. I shall not deal with them here. If the writer is here he should note that replies to his questions will appear in the *Young India* and *Navjivan*,

To me and to the Congress swaraj means freedom to the masses. It means that Congress will never agree to any scheme which does not protect the rights of the workers and peasants. Rest assured that the Truce had not in any way affected adversely the rights of the workers. It has not given us *swaraj*.

We have not called off the movement because we are cowards. I have been receiving letters that did not influence me in the least. I do not think there is anything in the Truce for which we need be ashamed. Unwillingly. I might have erred, but it is only human to err. In my opinion there is nothing in this truce which I can call a mistake. It might be that I was in a position to ask a few things more which I did not. But that was because I did not want to be unfair. The question of Meerut and Bengal prisoners was in my mind but I could not press for it to the extent of breaking off the negotiations.

The workers have not yet sufficiently realised their strength. They are not properly organised. If they do it they can rule India. But they must improve themselves before they are able to do it. They must clean themselves of the many vices that are a curse on them. They must give up drinking and gambling. If they do so and understand the message of peace and non-violence we can attain *swaraj* even with the strength of the workers. If you read the history of the South African struggle you will see that the success was due to the workers. When 60,000 workers out of the total population of 1,00,000 organise themselves for *satyagraha* they could attain in six months what they had not been able to do in several years.

"Do not be misled that the movement is finally stopped. It is only a temporary suspension. We are pledged to the Lahore Resolution of Independence and if that demand is not satisfied there will be no other way for us but to continue the fight and next time I feel we will have to do it with much more intensively. May God give you the strength to continue the fight."

Page 718, Para 963(26).

Place and Date	Auspices	Audience	Speaker	Remarks
Dadar, 16th March 1931.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	8,000	M. K. Gandhi	Advised the audience to read the issues of Young India and Navajivan for their enlightenment on the welfare of the workers. Also exhorted the workers to give up vices and stick to non-violence and take to <i>khaddar</i> and <i>Swadeshi</i> .
Esplanade Maidan 17th March 1931.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	2,00,000	Pandit J. Nehru, M. K. Gandhi.	M. K. Gandhi gave them a message of peace and asked them to completely boycott foreign cloth, to take to <i>khaddar</i> and <i>Swadeshi</i> , bring about Hindu Muslim unity and remove the stigma of untouchability.

Page 726, Para 971 (6-1).

Place and Date	Auspices	Audience	Speakers	Remarks.
Parel. 16th March 1931.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	20,000	K. F. Nariman (President), B. T. Kandalkar and Randive. G. L. Kandalkar, M. K. Gandhi.	repudiated the Delhi agreement. M. K. Gandhi explained the circumstances under which the truce was brought about and told the workers that he worked for them long before the communists were born.

Page 920, Para. 1235.

Mohandas Karmchand Gandhi left Ahmedabad for Bombay on April 15, 1931, to see his Excellency Lord Irwin.

Page 1465, Para 23.

14. Date	Auspi	Attend	Speakers	Remarks
26th June 1931	--	2,000	M. K. Gandhi	Congratulated the Women of Bombay on the splendid part they played during the Civil disobedience movement and appealed to them to become Desh Sevikas with a view to propagating Khaddar and boycotting foreign cloth.
Madhav Bagh.				

Page 1664, Para 4067 (2), Poona, August 8.

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Jamnalal Bajaj, Mahadeo Bhai Desai and Pyarelal came to Poona on the early morning of August 4. They got down at Kirkee and drove to the bungalow of Lady Thakersay. Mr. Gandhi had a four hour interview with His Excellency the Governor and returned to Bombay the same afternoon. About 100 persons collected at Kirkee Station to see him off.

Page 1674, Para 4078 (12) (15).

Date and	Auspices	Audie	Speakers	Remarks
7th August 1931	Parsi Sir Rajkiya Cowasji Sabha. Jehangir Hall.	1,500	Mrs. Goshup K. Gandhi.	Captain (President), M. Mr. M. K. Gandhi appreciated the services of the Parsis to the cause of the country and advised them (1) to take to Khaddar. (2) to stop liquor trade and (3) to cultivate simple habits of life. A sum of Rs. 3,000 realised by the sale of tickets, was handed over to him by Mrs. Captain for the use of 'Sabar-mati Ashram' or other purposes he liked.

Page 1683, Para. 4093, Bombay, August 10.

A special conference of the Hindustani Seva Dal was held in the People Jinnah Hall on August 9, to consider the question of acceptance of the Congress Working Committee resolution which brought the Dal under the direct control of the Congress, Mr. M. K. Gandhi opened the proceedings of the Conference while Vallabhbhai J. Patel presided. About 50 delegates including 30 female delegates and 250 visitors attended. Prominent persons who attended the conference were:—

1. Pandit J. Nehru.
2. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.
3. K. F. Nariman.
4. S. V. Sovani.
5. Dr. N. S. Hardikar.
6. B. Sambamurti.
7. Mrs. Kamaladevi
8. Chattopadhyaya.
9. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.
10. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.
11. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale.
12. Baba Saheb Deshmukh.
13. Babu Rajendra Prasad.
14. Chandulal Desai.
15. Mohanlal Saxena.
16. Abidally Jafferbhair.

An extract from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 10th August 1931, which gives full and correct report of the proceedings of the Conference is given below:

At a special session of the Hindustani Seva Dal Conference held on Sunday afternoon in the Jinnah Hall a resolution was adopted confirming the decision of the Central Board of Volunteers to dissolve all the organisations of the Dal and handing it over to the Working Committee of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi then declared the Conference open after making a short speech. He said the Conference was meant not to write the epitaph of Seva Dal as Mrs. Naidu, who was asked to preside but could not do so owing to her departure to Hyderabad, had said in her letter. On the contrary it was meant to make the Seva Dal stronger. The Congress now wanted to bring the Dal under its direct control because it felt that the time had come when it should organise all the volunteers in the country and bring them under its own control.

Proceeding he said "The fight we carried on last year impressed upon me the need of training and discipline among the volunteers. The Volunteers that we got as the struggle proceeded had not the required training. Although we gained much by that struggle we also suffered in certain respects. It is but natural, when there is mass awakening. But if there is no discipline many evils are sure to creep in. It did happen like that in the last struggle.

The volunteer organisations are in fact the very soul of the Congress. The very existence of the Congress depends on them because they are the army of the Congress. Our success depends on our non-violent army of volunteers. We expect that the changes will strengthen the Dal and make it more useful for the service of the country.

Bombay A.I.C.C. Extract from Bombay Chronicle, dated 7th August 1931, A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bombay.

Page 1695, 6-7 (Appendix B. P. 6).

MAHATMAJI ON CONGRESS RESPONSIBILITY

Speaking on the resolution Gandhiji said-

"This resolution has not been brought forward to deceive ourselves or Englishmen or the world at large. It has been moved to declare what is the creed of the Congress. The creed of the Congress is to strive for the attainment of '*Purna Swaraj*' by non-violent and peaceful means. We have decided to follow the path of peace, truth and righteousness. And so long as we believe in it and want the world also to believe that, that is our way then; it becomes obligatory upon us to stick to it scrupulously in thought, word and deed. It also becomes our duty to prevent those who want to follow the opposite way. We must try to win them over. In 1920 when the Congress first adopted non-violence as its creed the argument was brought forward why the Congress should take any notice of what those who were not members of the Congress did. It was said that while Congress should follow its own way it should allow others to do what they liked. It was said that if Congress wanted it should stick to nonviolence and even submit patiently to violence used against it by its opponents, but it has no business to advise others or come in their way.

Since the time this controversy started my reply to it has been that the Congress claims to represent and speak in the name of India and the fight it has been carrying on is for the good of every Indian whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim, a Christian or a Parsi. We claim to exert influence on them and we represent them and speak in their name. Our fight is not for Congressmen alone. If it were so our task would have been very simple. Last year when we carried on the struggle for freedom against the Government, the whole country was at our back. All those who participated in the struggle were not Congress members. But our strength is immensely increased by working for them and accepting their help. The Government admits the strength of the Congress not because there are some thousand members in the roll of the Congress or there are a few lawyers, doctors, or other learned men in the Congress who can very well argue and discuss things. The Government recognises the strength of the Congress because it feels that the voice of the Congress has reached the villages ".

"Those who commit murders are also our brethren. We must exert influence on them. When we claim to represent them we also must accept the responsibility for what they do ".

"There is still a large number of people who say that I committed a blunder when I stopped the fight in Bardoli in 1921. They say that if we had continued our fight, then by this time we would have been free. I believe it is a mistake to think so. It is even now my firm belief that what I did in Bardoli in 1921 was right and India has immensely gained by that action. The present awakening in the country is due to that action."

"On former occasions when we condemned such actions we also raised the spirits of sacrifice among the young men. But we praised it so much that I think we reached the limit when we passed the resolution at Karachi about Bhagatsingh and his comrades. I did so in the belief that it would have a sobering effect on the youths but I failed in that attempt. I am not unaware of the increased strength of the youths but it is being misused. I did not get the least success in that attempt. On the contrary it was exploited very badly and I am sorry for it."

REPLY TO CRITICS

"There are those who accuse me of agreeing to that proposition at Karachi dishonestly because I wanted to placate the youths as I had to carry the Congress with me in ratifying the Delhi Pact and attend the Round Table Conference. My reply to these critics is that you cannot claim to know what is in my mind. It is God alone who knows that. But I can say this much that I shall never commit such blunder. If I do I shall not be true to the Congress. For others it may be a question of mere policy but for me it is my *Dharma*. How is it possible for me to commit such a grave blunder for a small matter. I have never done it in my life. I do not attach so much value to the Round Table Conference as to sacrifice that great principle of my life for it. I certainly attach more value to the Delhi Pact."

OFFICIAL VIOLENCE

I am also aware of the objection raised why the crimes of one young man are magnified, while the Government whose faults drive our young men to commit such actions is not criticised. I do not know if there is any need on the part of the Congress to do that work. Those who demand such condemnation of the Government by the Congress do not understand the Congress. The very existence of the Congress is to destroy the present system of Government. The Congress wants to put a stop to what has been going on for years in this country. The Congress decided it when it first launched the non-co-operation movement.

Pages 12-13.

On 8th August Saturday evening Mr. Gandhi arrived and he addressed the House. He requested Satyamurti to withdraw the resolution tabled by him about the Indian States subjects. He consented. Mr. Gandhi said that at Karachi he had explained the position clearly as regards the States question. They should do nothing to embarrass the situation. He wondered as to why the question was now reopened before them. It was not one of the fundamental rights.

He added that the question would be settled at the Round Table Conference if he went there at all. He was given a *Vakalatnama* by them and they must allow him to plead in his own way and present the case as he thought most suitable. In conclusion he said that adoption of the fundamental rights and the economic programme was intended to show what the *Swaraj* scheme of affairs would be alike. The addition of the article on the State subjects would not better or add to the enunciation of the rights.

Mr. Gandhi then expressed his views and made an important statement as regards his proposed visit to London to join the Round Table Conference. He said that he had been doing all that was humanly possible for enabling him to proceed to London. They had entered into an agreement with the Government which required that he should go to London and participate in the Round Table Conference. The pact also required that he should place before the Conference their case and argue it out. He said he could not avoid going there but to enable him to do so the required atmosphere was necessary. He had been repeatedly saying after the Delhi pact that unless the communal issue was satisfactorily settled he would not proceed to London. Much was made of this statement of his by the foreign papers which declared that Gandhi wanted to back out from the Delhi agreement. In view of these criticisms the Working Committee decided

that even if the settlement was not arrived at on the communal issue he should go to London. This did not show any weakness on the part of the Working Committee. He said that he was not going to London as the representative of the Hindus but as the representative of the Congress which did not recognise any caste, but represented the Indian Nation. As he was the servant of the Congress he had to bow down before the considerations of the Working Committee. This decision of the Working Committee had done away with one of the obstacles that were in his way and he thus advanced a step towards London. The other obstacle was the implementing of the truce terms by the Government. The arrest of workers and leaders would not make it a question of breaking the agreement but where it concerned the *Kisans* it was quite a different matter to him. He said he could not allow the poor *Kisans* to be harassed as it was their primary duty to save them and safeguard their interests. The Congress was no Congress if it was not for the *Kisans*. Congress represented the *Zamindars*, the Raja and the Capitalists but its primary concern was to look to the interests of the peasants. The Congress could co-operate with the monied class so long as it did not harm the interest of the peasants, but it would fight against them for the rights of the *Kisans*. He referred to the Jinnah Hall "*goondaism*". This incident immensely annoyed him and almost unnerved him. It was, therefore, no use of their sending a man who was so unnerved to represent their cause. At this stage Mr. Gandhi broke down due to emotions and his voice failed for a couple of minutes continuing after a slight pause he began to speak in English as follows:—

Although the atmosphere might be clear so far as the Government and the implementing of the truce terms were concerned, there were still dangers lying in his way. Once more he referred to the Jinnah Hall incidents. He was trying to understand much of what was going on under the surface. He said that he was not fit to do any constructive work because they were at war against one another. To him all were alike and when he saw the conditions in India he felt that his place was not in London. Regarding his proceeding to London he said that day he knew that that he was not proceeding to London. He knew it was a humiliating position but he would leave no single stone unturned to see that he could go. He left it to Government to make whatever pronouncement they like over this announcement of his.

On the question of the scheme for communal settlement Mr. Gandhi observed that it should not be discussed there. He was of opinion to drop the matter for public opinion.

Pages 1753, Para 5112.

Name	Arrived		Left		Remarks
	On	From	On	For	
Mr. M. K. Gandhi	29th August 1931 in Bombay.	Simla	29th August 1931.	London	Left by S. S. Rajputana

Page 1790, Para 5166.

Bombay City S. B., September 4.—During the week the following meetings were held in the city:—

Serial No., date and place	Auspices	Audience	Speakers	Remarks
29th August 1931.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	50,000	K. F. Nariman (President), Mr. M.K. Gandhi.	Mr. M. K. Gandhi advised the people to observe the truce terms, to follow the creed of non-violence and to ply charkha.

Page 87, Para 125.

Bombay City.—At 3 p.m. on December 30, 1931, the members of the Working Committee named below met at Mani Bhuwan, Laburnam Road. No outsider was allowed except Subhash Chandra Bose, C. Rajagopalachari, Govind Vallabh Pant, Dr. Pattabi Sitarammayya, Konda Venkatappaya, and Gopal Bandhu Chowdhari, who were specially invited.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel,
M. K. Gandhi,
Dr. M. A. Ansari,
Abdul Kalam Azad,
Babu Rajendra Prasad,
S. Aney,
Dr. Mohamed Alam,
Dr. Syed Mahmood,
K. F. Nariman,
Jamnalal Bajaj, and
Jairamdas Daultram Alimchandani.

The Working Committee unanimously passed resolution of condolence regarding the death of Mr. Gandhi's life-long friend and co-worker, the late Imamsaheb Bawazir. The Committee discussed the situation in Bengal and heard the views of Subhash Chandra Bose who urged the necessity of resorting to the boycott of British goods. Subhash Bose drew Mr. Gandhi's attention to the indifference shown by the Congress Working Committee towards Bengal's grievances; some members of the Working Committee were in favour of defensive *satyagraha*; but Mr. Gandhi was not prepared to agree to that course without first ascertaining the real intention of the Government of India. Eventually the Working Committee agreed with Gandhi's arguments that the truce was not officially declared broken and that therefore the Government should be consulted. It was decided to send a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy enquiring whether the promulgation of Ordinances in the United Provinces and North West Frontier province meant the end of the truce and whether His Excellency would see Gandhi in the matter. The Committee adjourned to 9-30 a.m. this morning.

December 31, 1931.—The Congress Working Committee met again yesterday and continued discussion on the developments in Bengal, United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province. Mr. Gandhi is collecting details of the situation in each Province for his own guidance, and had

advised the members to have patience. He also advised the Maharashtra leaders, who are holding Provincial Conference in Panvel in a couple of days, not to take any hasty step until the Congress Working Committee had given its decision.

January 2nd, the Working Committee of the Congress received. His Excellency the Viceroy's reply on December 31. After reading it the members declared that it was unsatisfactory. They, however, continued their deliberations behind closed doors up to 2 a.m. on the morning of January 1, when they issued a statement to the press giving their decision to launch the civil disobedience movement again and placing before the public a clear cut programme. (Extracts from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated January 2, 1932, giving full statement, including Mr. Gandhi's telegram and His Excellency the Viceroy's reply thereto, are reproduced below). On January 1, the members of the Working Committee again met and after a whole day's deliberations passed resolution appealing to all nations, commercial associations, zamindars and the millowners, explaining the attitude of the Congress and soliciting their support in furtherance of the programme of civil disobedience laid before the public by the Working Committee that morning, (Extracts from the *Free Press Journal*, dated January 2, 1932, giving the text of the resolutions adopted are also given below).

The Working Committee was dissolved yesterday evening and the members were permitted to return to their Provinces. Mr. Gandhi has been staying on for a couple of days expecting a reply from His Excellency the Viceroy to his telegram and anticipating his arrest. A good number of people have been visiting Mr. Gandhi as it is commonly believed that he would soon be arrested. Dr. Ansari, Dr. Pattabi Sitarammayya, Konda Venkatayya, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Syed Mahmood and Abdul Kalam Azad left yesterday for their homes. Saddul Singh, C. Rajagopalachari and B. Samba Murti left for Madras today. M. S. Aney left for Panvel by motor. Subhash Chandra Bose is leaving today for Calcutta by the Nagpur Mail at 4-45 p.m.

A deputation of cloth merchants and other commercial associations waited on Mr. Gandhi. They were asked by Mr. Gandhi to help the movement and many of them are reported to have agreed to help him in the matter of boycott programme of the Congress.

Page 110, Para 164.

Bombay City S. B., December 29, 1931.—A good deal of enthusiasm was noticed on the morning of December 28 when large crowds of people were seen thronging the route of the procession by which Mr. Gandhi was to pass. By 6 a.m. the route from Laburnum Road the Mole Station was lined by the reception volunteers who included even children below 12. The route was decorated particularly at Shaikh Memon Street, Bhuleshwar and Bazar Gate. About 500 female volunteers in saffron saris were in attendance from Central Hall to the Green Gate. At 8-25 a.m. the S. S. Pilsna came alongside the Mole and the members of the Working Committee, namely Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Abdul Kalam Azad, K. F. Nariman, Sardar Sardul Singh, M. S. Aney, Jairamdas Daulatram, Alim-chandani, Dr. Syed Mahmood and other prominent persons such as C. Rajagopalachari, Abbas Tyebji, Patabi Sitaramayya, Subhash Bose, Pandit Sunderlal, B. Samba Murti, K. M. Munshi, Mrs. Gandhi, Revd. Elwin, Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Mrs. Munshi, Mrs. Perin Captain and Manilal Kothari boarded the steamer. After Mrs. Munshi had garlanded Mr. Gandhi the

party disembarked and proceeded to the Central Hall from where after reception on behalf of various associations, Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee drove in procession along the route prescribed.

In the early hours of the morning of December 28 there was a free fight on Ballard Road which resulted in severe injury to Purushottamdas Trikam-das and one or two other Congressmen by the depressed classes who had come there to make a hostile demonstration. The arrival of the police saved the situation and a good number of the depressed classes had to be dispersed and disarmed of their *lathis*.

The depressed class members while returning were assaulted by some persons in the Colaba Wadi at about 11 a.m.

About 75 red-flaggers led B. T. Ranadive. S. V. Deshpande and others held a hostile demonstration on the morning of December 28 along some portions of the route with red flags shouting "Boycott Gandhi".

Public welcome to Mr. Gandhi was given on the evening of December 28 by Vallabhbhai Patel on behalf of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the Esplanade Maidan. The whole *maidan* from Dhobi Talao to Waudby Road was full of people. Loud speakers were installed to enable the crowds to listen to the speeches. A very large number of volunteers, both male and female maintained order at the meeting which lasted only for half an hour. Almost all the members of the Working Committee and the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee were present. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel made a short speech extending hearty welcome to Mr. Gandhi and saying that the country was glad to receive him back although he returned empty-handed. Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting from a specially constructed rostrum on one side of Waudby Road. At the outset he said that he was unaware of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Abdul Gaffar Khan till he arrived in Bombay. He considered these events as Christmas presents from the Viceroy. The question before them was whether they should launch a campaign of *satyagraha* or whether they should try some other means in view of the action of Government. He could not decide that question without consulting the Congress Working Committee but he would only say that if the Congress Working Committee decided to renew the fight, he would not hesitate to ask the people to join it; but if there is any possibility of avoiding *Satyagraha* he would do his utmost to do so. He advised patience. He then spoke on the efficacy of non-violence and the importance of fighting Government with love. He condemned the Comilla outrage and said that those young girls had no right to take the life of anybody. A *satyagrahi* should be prepared to suffer without retaliation. He condemned the policy of Government for the Ordinance for which, he said, there was no justification. His visit to England had convinced him of his full faith in non violence. Another thing that he learnt in England was the view the British Cabinet held regarding India. The British Cabinet honestly believed that India was unfit for *Swaraj* and that communal problem should be solved before the goal was achieved. He would try his best to settle the communal question and safeguard the interests of the minorities including the untouchables. If he was free he would place before the public an account of what he did in London in connection with the Round Table Conference. For the present, he had to tell the people that if there was a fight they should be prepared for every sacrifice including the facing of the bullets but at the same time they should take the pledge that they would do no harm to others. He

would do all that lay within his power to prevent another fiery ordeal; but if he found that there was no other way, he would not hesitate to call upon the people to go through the ordeal regardless of the magnitude of sufferings.

2. *Bombay Suburban District, January 2.*—M. K. Gandhi and his wife went to Santa Cruz to see their nephew, Vanilal Marutilal Gandhi of Santa Cruz, on January 2. M. K. Gandhi was garlanded by G. B. Yogi. Some 50 persons were present.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated December 29, 1931.

SPEECH AT AZAD MAIDAN ON 28th DECEMBER 1931.

Last night I was expecting that I would be able to speak before you something different than what I propose to do now. But eventually God has willed otherwise. I did not know till I landed this morning that there had been firing in Peshawar, nor did I know that Pandit Jawaharlal and Sgt. Sherwani were Jailed or were to be prosecuted. I take these as Christmas presents to me by Lord Willingdon. It was natural that he should have made presents to me on my return home. In the Frontier Province, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, his brother and several others have been arrested and we do not know how many more will be jailed. We may not even get the news from that Province. What better presents can there be for a *satyagrahi* than these?

If we had committed any offence and were punished for that, there would have been occasion for us to regret it. But I am as certain as there is life in me that Khan Abdul Gaffar is a true believer in the cult of *Satya-graha* and he has understood its meaning. I need say nothing about Pandit Jawaharlal and Sgt. Sherwani. You know them as much as I do.

The question now before us is what is our duty. Shall we take the hint from the action of the Government and launch a campaign of *satya-graha* or shall we try some other means? I cannot give you my opinion just at present.

I will only say that if fate wills that we should go through the ordeal again, and if the Congress Working Committee decides on the renewal of the fight, I shall not hesitate to ask you to join it. But if there is any possibility of avoiding *satyagraha*, I shall do my utmost to prevent it and advise you to have patience. I think after years of experience India has learnt to hold herself in patience.

I was grieved to learn on board the steamer that in Bengal, two of our young girls are said to have committed a murder. It pained me as a *satyagrahi*, because our creed is to be ready to die and not to kill. Our fight is based on love. Even if we fight the Government, it is with the weapon of love and there can be no room for hatred in it. When I heard of that incident I was sorry but that does not mean that there is the least justification for what the Government has been doing in Bengal. Government has every right to punish the wrong-doers but it does not behove a Government to victimise people for acts for which they are not responsible. There can be no justification for the Ordinances promulgated in the U.P. or the Northwest Frontier Province. We cannot tolerate any of them.

Mahatma Gandhi repeated again: I had hoped that it would be possible to find a way to co-operate with the Government. I will even now do my best to find the way out. But I must admit the signs that I have noticed have considerably weakened my hopes. And if ever we have to fight, we

should be prepared to do our utmost. Ours is a fight in which one and all can join. It is fight to court sufferings. It is a struggle to live life and not to take life. In this struggle even children can play a part.

Last year we faced *lathis*, but this time we must be prepared to face bullets. I do not wish that the Pathans in the Frontier alone should court bullets. If bullets are to be faced, Bombay and Gujarat also must take their share. I had said in London that if we have to offer even a million lives for achieving freedom, I would be prepared for sacrifice without the least compunction. I believe that we must get rid of the fear of death, and when we have to court death we must embrace it as we embrace a friend. But inspite of our readiness to offer our lives, we must see to it that not even a hair of an Englishman is hurt. We must hope that by our sacrifice we shall be able to bring about a change of heart in the same Englishman who strikers us. By my visit to Europe, my faith in nonviolence has immensely increased. I believe that non-violence has the power to melt the stoniest heart. Some people thought that during my visit to Europe I would learn something new, but I honestly say that I learnt nothing new except that my faith in non-violence increased.

Another experience that I got during my visit to London was that the British Cabinet believes—and there is no reason to doubt its sincerity—that we are not fit for self-Government. They believe that although the Congressmen speak of non-violence, they do not honestly believe in it. The reason is that in the reports they get from their officials in India it is represented that Indians are unfit for self-Government, and that Congress has no control over the masses. That is why they have been declaring Congress organisation unlawful. Our duty is not to find fault with the Englishman nor to be angry with him, but to get rid of our shortcomings and to act up to the creed of non-violence. May be that many of you have accepted it as a policy, but so long as the Congress has adopted that creed, we must stick fast to it. By our actions we must prove beyond doubt that we Congressmen exist not to harm anyone but to protest others at the cost of our own lives. Congress stands to achieve freedom by sacrificing lives. Those who do not subscribe to that view, had better leave the Congress. If we did that, we shall enhance the influence and reputation that we have earned, and if we lose it, we will not be able to attain freedom.

If we have not so far been able to attain *swaraj*, it does not mean that We should give up the attempt. India has not only to attain her freedom but also to give the message of peace and non-violence to the world. Even if years are required to achieve that object, it should not dishearten us.

I hear people saying that if Congress gave up *satyagraha* it will be able to deal with the Government. I must make it clear that Congress and *satyagraha* are inseparable, In *satyagraha* lies the power of the Congress and the Government will have ultimately to come to terms with the Congress. I made this clear in London and I repeat it today before you and the whole world. The Congress does not belong to the Hindus alone. It stands equally for Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and in fact all those who have made India their home. Congress stands for those Englishmen also who have made India their home. I made the claim in London on behalf of the Congress that it stands for the whole of India and I repeat it here. Its influence is bound to increase. We could not solve the communal problem in London. I knew that it could never be solved there. It can be solved by the Congress and it is

doing all that it can to solve it. The remedy is to serve all classes and communities. If the Congress serves the Sikhs and Muslims, they are sure to claim the Congress as their own.

One word about the untouchables. I claim myself to be one of them. I have served them for my whole life, I started their service even before I took up Congress work. How can I then do anything that will harm them? The untouchables have been so much oppressed by the caste Hindus that we can find no parallel to it in any other religion. Therefore, if they get angry and do harm to 10 or 20 Hindus, it should not give us cause to retaliate. I am not prepared for any concession like reservation of seats etc., to the untouchables, because I believe that it would be perpetrating untouchability. Let the future legislatures of free India be filled with untouchables alone but let them come in as equals. Unless we raise them to our level, our freedom will be futile. So long as a person whether man or woman, touchable or untouchable, rich or poor, is oppressed and does not enjoy equal rights with other citizens of the country we cannot enjoy freedom. It will be slavery in the garb of freedom. What I did in London was only to safeguard their rights.

Concluding Mahatmaji observed: I had a mind to speak on many things. I had to place before you an account of what I did in London in connection with the R.T.C. If I am left free I may do it some other occasion or you may know it through other means.

What I have to tell you now is that if there is to be a fight, be prepared for every sacrifice, but take a pledge that you will not do harm to others. I will do all that lies within the power of a human being to prevent another fiery ordeal, but if I find that there is no other way out I will not hesitate to call upon you to go through it whatever the magnitude of sufferings may be. May God give us the strength to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom.

Page 177, Para 235.

Bombay City S. B., January 5.—Since the receipt of His Excellency the Viceroy's reply stating that Government would take all measures necessary to put down subversive activities and refusing to give an interview demanded under threat of revival of civil disobedience movement, rumours were thick in the City that Mr. Gandhi would be arrested any moment. He, therefore, put before the public the plan of action to be put into effect in the event of his arrest through an interview with the "*Chronicle*" representatives.

The Plan of action is as under:

"What I would ask the nation to do after my arrest, declared Gandhiji, is to wake up from its sleep"; and

1. To discard at once all foreign cloth and take to *khaddar*;
2. To discard all drugs, narcotics and intoxicating drinks;
3. To discard every trace of violence and give absolute protection to; every Englishman, woman or child whether official or otherwise, no matter; how provocative the action of officials may be;
4. To withdraw from the Government every form of Co-operation that; is possible for every individual; and
5. To study the resolution of the Working Committee and carry it out to the letter and in spirit and in that process suffer all hardships that they may be put to, including loss of life and property.

PLAN OF ACTION

It is difficult to lay down one rule for the whole of India, Gandhiji added. But it seems that since the Congress has adopted the method of self-purification through non-violence, I should begin by *hartal*, that is voluntary suspension of all works for profit and undergo a prayerful fast and then begin simultaneously civil disobedience, in such manner as may be possible in each locality, such as,

(a)Unlicensed manufacture of salt,

(b)Picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops,

(c)Breach of orders under section 144 and the like when there is no likelihood of breach of peace and where orders have been issued not out of any legal necessity but manifestly for the sake of crushing the spirit of the people of what is the same thing as suppressing the Congress.

Questioned if the work of carrying on the behests of the Congress would not prove difficult, if as already contemplated, all listed Congress workers were removed from the field of action, Gandhiji commented, "The resolution of the Working Committee was framed to cover the difficulty raised. The situation will develop so suddenly that it is not possible to be more definite than the resolution. After experience of 12 years of *satyagraha* in a more or less acute form, individuals are expected to know what the change in circumstances will require. Last years experience shows that in spite of the imprisonment of almost all the leaders the nation showed marvellous resourcefulness in the emergency as it arose and kept up the spirit of civil defiance."

When his attention was drawn to the possibility of opposition to Congress from certain classes of Indians, the Mahatma said, that some handicap there naturally must be whenever there is internal opposition but all these difficulties will dissolve in the fire of suffering without hatred whether towards the administrators or towards our own people, whether they oppose or are indifferent to the movement.

Gandhi and Vallabhbhai were arrested in Bombay on January 4, and were removed to the Yeravda Jail.

Page 182, Para 245.

Bombay City S. B., January 5.—Before Mr. Gandhi's arrest on the morning of January 4, a tentative list of nominees for Congress presidentship was submitted by Vallabhbhai Patel to Mr. Gandhi. The latter approved of the list and suggested that the following conditions should be imposed:—

1. All nominations should be subject to the consent of the nominees.

2. It is presumed that those on the list who will consent to serve will abide by the rules and regulations of the Congress and specially the Congress creed of truth and non-violence. An exclusive use of *khaddar* is the minimum qualification for the exercise of the Congress franchise; and

3. These nominees shall in no way bind the Congress or the country by negotiating with the Government on their own authority. On all occasions of negotiations they shall insist on the Government negotiation direct with the original Working Committee.

Page 807, Para 1765.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 10.—This Conference which is also concerned with untouchability is being held in Poona on December

10 and 11 with Jamnadas M. Mehta as President and five Secretaries who include C. B. Agarwal, barrister, and Shankar Rao Deo. The Conveners are in favour of the removal of untouchability but do not wish to go the whole hog at once. They are not on the whole in agreement with the decisions arrived at Allahabad in which they consider the Hindus have made unnecessary concessions to the Muhammadans. Many of those concerned have connections with the Hindu Maha Sabha but have adopted a name for the Conference which will not bind Hindu Maha Sabha to any decisions arrived at during the Conference.

There is a clash of three parties on this question in Poona. At the one extreme is Mr. Gandhi who insists that untouchability must not remain in any form and that untouchables must be treated on precisely the same terms as caste-Hindus. At the other extreme are the *Sanatanists* and the *Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh* which holds fast to the religions of the *Vedas*. In between is the party lead by L. B. Bhopatkar and S. M. Mate who desire to admit the untouchables as far as the main assembly hall provided the untouchables concerned have given up meat eating. This party of the so called "Reformed *Sanatanists*" has issued a leaflet in December stating its views and giving an account of its interview with Mr. Gandhi.

The following extracts go to the heart of the Interview:—

Mr. Mate.—Suppose we do not follow you but undertake a propaganda to allow the untouchables entry up to the assembly hall, will you not bless our movement.

Mr. Gandhi.—No, I won't.

Mr. Mate.—If we continue our Propaganda will you consider it as an obstruction to or retarding of your movement.

Mr Gandhi.—I will simply not curse you. Will it not suffice?

The third party appears to be gaining some strength in Maharashtra.

Page 820, Para 1810. (5).

Poona, Anti Untouchability Day, December 12.—Produced a few meetings and magic lantern shows. Attendances were below 300.

From Benares and other parts of India certain Pro and Anti Gandhi *Sanatani Shastries* held discussions with Mr. Gandhi in Yeravada Jail on December 23 and 24. It is understood that Mr. Gandhi still claims to have an impartial mind in the matter of untouchables entering temples, though his impartiality does not extend to those who hold views other than his.

Page 111.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 30.—The following persons interviewed M. K. Gandhi on March 25th:—

Mathuradas Trikumji	... 53 Mint Road, Fort.
Hemalata Amarchand	... 53 Mint Road, Fort.
Kusum Amarchand	... 53 Mint Road, Fort.
Dileep Kumar	... 53 Mint Road, Fort.
Usuf Meheralli	... Carnac Street, Bombay.

Page 113.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, April 8.—The following persons interviewed M. K. Gandhi at the Yeravda Central Prison on 31st March and 3rd April 1933.:—

J. A. D. Naoroji, Bombay on 31st March, 1933.

S. P. Jeejeebhoy, Bombay on 31st March 1933.

N. D. S. Captain, Bombay on 31st March 1933.

Mathuradas Trikumji, 53, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Mrs. Byram (Bahrain) N. Khambatta, 275, Hornby Road, Bombay, 3rd April 1933.

Byram N. Khambatta, 275, Hornby Road, Bombay, 3rd April 1933.

Page 44, Para 140.

February 11.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi is responsible for a further move in the game with the publication of the English weekly paper *Harijan*. The first issue appeared at Poona on *February 11* under the editorship of R. V. Sastry and under the auspices of " the Servants of Untouchables Society ", of which A. G. Thakkar is the General Secretary.

Page 155, Para 468.

M. K. Gandhi.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 12.—M. K. Gandhi who started his fast of 21 days on the 8th May 1933 was released from the Yeravda Central Prison the same day. There was no demonstration either near the jail or at Lady Thakersey's bungalow, where he is putting up.

Page 249, Para 820.

CONFERENCE OF CONGRESS LEADERS IN POONA.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 15.—The much discussed informal meeting of Congress delegates was held in Tilak Mandir, Poona City, on July 12, 13 and 14. About 150 delegates attended and the proceedings were held in camera.

On the first day a great preponderance of speakers was definitely in favour of the abandonment of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Second day some of the " No-Changers " had their say; but on the final day a no surrender speech by M. K. Gandhi himself proved the decisive factor and the pendulum swung definitely in favour of no-change. It was finally decided that Gandhi, in consultation with the Working Committee, should be authorised to draft and send a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, and that in the meantime the question of the continuance of civil disobedience movement should be left in abeyance.

Note by S. B., Bombay Presidency.—Both these individuals having failed to comply with the conditions of the order served on them under section 4 of the Bombay Special Emergency Powers Act XVI of 1932, on release from Jail, were prosecuted under section 14 of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act and convicted and sentenced to 1 year's simple imprisonment on 4th August 1933 by the additional District Magistrate, Poona.

Page 354, Para 1142.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 21.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Poona on 15th September 1933.

Page 355, Para 1143.

Poona, September 16.—At the request of G. K. Deodhar, M. K. Gandhi paid a visit to the Servants of India Society's Home, Poona, on 11th September 1933, with Mrs. Gandhi and Nehru. After a private talk with the members of the Society, he offered his usual evening prayers in the Society's Home. G. K. Deodhar then made a short speech and thanked Gandhi for having accepted his invitation and exhorted the audience to learn from Gandhi's life how to dedicate their lives to the service of their Motherland. 200 attended.

Page 362, Para 1168.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 30.—M. K. Gandhi departed from Bombay for Ahmedabad on 20th September 1933.

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on 22nd September 1933, and on the same day he departed from Bombay for Wardha.

Page 494, Para 1539.

Bombay City S. B., December 2.—The following is the latest tour programme of M. K. Gandhi (in Maharashtra): —

Province	Total days	Dates (Both days inclusive)	Working days
Bombay City	7	1st July to 7th July	5
	17	8th July to 24th July	11
Maharashtra and Hyderabad Deccan			

This programme must be regarded as tentative

Page 308, Para 580.

M. K. Gandhi's Harijan Tour.

Bombay City S. B., June 5.—M. K. Gandhi is expected to be in Bombay on June 14th and to stay here till June 17th in connection with the Harijan tour. The Bombay Board of the Harijan Sewak Sangh at meeting held on May 31st at the office of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau appointed a reception committee consisting of members of the Board and other prominent citizens, including Congressmen, to collect funds for presentation to Gandhi and to make his visit a success.

(2) *Bombay Suburban District, Bandra, June 2.*—Gandhi is willed to visit Vile Parle and Santa Cruz and lecture there on the 17th instant when he visits Bombay.

Page 319, Para 597.

M. K. Gandhi's Harijan Tour.

Bombay City S. B., June 11.—The following is a programme of Gandhi's engagements in Bombay:-

14th June 1934.—Gandhi arrives at Victoria Terminus at 7-50 a.m. when he will be received by the Reception Committee of the *Bombay Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh* at Platform No. 13. He then goes to Mani Bhuwan. Gamdevi, where he usually resides. At 11-00 a.m. the members of the

Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh will meet him at his residence. At 1-00 p.m. the members of the Gandhi Seva Sena will see him at his residence. At 6-00 p.m. Gandhi visits Harijan quarters at Tadvadi, Maza-gaon, and holds his evening prayers at 7-30 p.m.

15th June 1934.—Gandhi attends a public meeting of women at 5-30 p.m. either at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall or at Royal Opera House.

16th June 1934.—Gandhi attends a public meeting at 6 p.m. at the Esplanade Maidan (weather permitting) or at the Town Hall.

17th June 1934.—Gandhi visits the Bombay Suburban District in the morning and address a public meeting either at Vile Parle or at Andheri.

18th June 1934.—Gandhi's silence day in Bombay.

19th June 1934.—Gandhi leaves for Poona at 8-20 a.m.

Some of the *Sanatanists* wanted to demonstrate their feelings against Gandhi by holding a black flag procession at the time of his arrival in Bombay on June 14th, but wiser counsels have prevailed and they have been advised not to do so.

INTERVIEW TO MEMBERS OF GANDHI SEVA SENA Bombay,

June 14th 1934

The next appointment was with the sisters led by Shrimati Gosibehn Captain. They had a great deal of silent service to their credit. But Gosibehn would not detain Gandhiji with a recital of those services. She wanted him to speak to the lukewarm, of whom she said they had their fair share. That gave Gandhiji the opportunity of speaking to them on the necessity of dealing with the root evil. What were the weak of body to do? Gandhiji said it was easy enough for such to do one thing. They could keep a Harijan boy or girl to serve them. Give the change of heart and willingness to serve, there was limitless scope for all to serve. What were the women to do where the elders were opposed to the reform? For them no doubt the difficulty was great. But so was the opportunity for work. They had to commence with the conversion of their elders, and this they could do by gentleness and firmness. They must be prepared to suffer for their convictions. Character played a great part in every movement of reform. Only the pure of heart could touch the hearts of their neighbours¹.

Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his address advised women to take an increasing interest in the work for the uplift of Harijans and spread knowledge about health, hygiene and cleanliness among the Harijan women folk.

Harijan, 29th June 1934 also The Bombay Chronical 15th June 1934

SPEECH AT WOMAN'S MEETING, BOMBAY²

June 15, 1934

Gandhiji, at the outset, asked his audience if he was sufficiently audible and the ladies occupying the balconies replied cheerfully they were able to hear him. In the course of his address to them, Gandhiji said that he was glad he was speaking to women before he would speak to the men, for women

¹ The Bombay Provincial Board had requested Gandhiji to get the Central Board to permit them to retain 75% of the Collections made in Bombay instead of 50%.

²The first and last paragraphs are from the *Bombay Chronicle*.

were superior to men in faith and love, and his battle would be more than half won if he could enlist their whole hearted support. He hoped that the women of Bombay would rise to the occasion. Women held the key position in society and it would be a tragedy if they blocked the path of reform.

Untouchability had its origin not in religion, but in mere pride of race and the tendency of the strong to keep down the weak. It had persisted so long because Harijans were cut off from all contact and consigned to the worst places. If, however, they were allowed freely to mix with all classes of society and to practise all professions on a footing of equality, we would in a few years be surprised that they should ever have been looked down upon.

The reformer's was an uphill task, as we had imported religion into untouchability. Sacrifice was essential; but service was impossible without sacrifice, and no sacrifice could be too great to be offered in order to wipe out the deep and long-standing stain of untouchability.

Appealing for funds, Gandhiji hastened to clear any impression in their minds that he was collecting money always. He was there to ask for the support of the women of Bombay for the cause of Harijans, which was dearer to him than anything else. Before they paid the money, they should realize that they were paying for what they had done or allowed to be done in the past.

Harijan, 29th June 1934; also The Bombay Chronicle, 15th June 1934.

SPEECH AT MEETING OF CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD, BOMBAY

June 16, 1934

After his consultation¹ Gandhiji addressed the Board in a speech which is described as one of the most moving and earnest speeches that he has ever delivered. The main trend of the speech was that the Congress claimed to stand for the Muslims as well as the Hindus and the Sikhs and other communities and that, therefore, nothing should be done that would have the effect of making the Muslims feel that the Congress had departed from that position.

The majority of the Muslims had accepted the Communal Award. It was their duty to bring about such a voluntary settlement of the Communal Award as would satisfy all communities. They should not go to a third party to secure a modification of the Award. So long, however, as a voluntary settlement was not brought about, it would be betrayal of the Muslims to shake their confidence in the Congress by taking up a position of uncompromising opposition to their view of the Communal Award.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17th June 1934.

¹With M. M. Malaviya, who along with M. S. Aney and some other members, had been pleading for the rejection of the Communal Award by the Parliamentary Board which met in Mani Bhuvan on June 15 and 16. The nationalist Muslims had been supporting the view of the Ranchi Conference, that the Award should be neither accepted nor rejected, until an agreement was brought about between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The Board, therefore, sought Gandhiji's advice. The Congress Working Committee, which met in Mani Bhuvan on June 17 at the Parliamentary Board's request, accepted Gandhiji's view.

Page 339, Para. 627.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 23.—The following is a brief account of M. K. Gandhi's Harijan Tour in the Bombay Presidency:—

M. K. Gandhi's Harijan Tour in Bombay.

14th June 1934.—Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of 14th June with Miss. Slade and others. On the platform, there were about 150 persons including several prominent Congressmen, while outside a crowd of about 1,000 of his admirers had gathered. Gandhi immediately drove to his Bombay residence, Mani Bhuvan.

At 11-00 a.m. some members of the Provincial Board of the Harijan Seva Sangh saw him at his residence in connection with the uplift of Harijans. At 1-00 p.m. about 40 members of the Gandhi Seva Sena consisting mostly of women visited him. He advised them to strive hard for the removal of untouchability and collect as much money as possible for the Harijan cause. At 9-15 p.m. the Secretary of the Labour Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee visited him along with labour leaders representing the Girni Kamgar Union Strike Committee in connection with the strike situation in Bombay. He promised to do whatever he could but made it clear that the success of his mediation was rather remote in view of the reply given to the Secretary by Mr. H. P. Mody. Total collections for the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 31,541. A small sum of Rs. 24 was also collected at a prayer meeting.

Note.—Although Gandhi's programme was known in advance to the public, the reception at the station was on the whole not very warm and enthusiastic. Apart from his Gujarati admirers who were shouting his "*Jais*," the Congress element displayed less enthusiasm than usual. At 9-00 a.m.

15th June 1934. a party of the All-India Depressed Classes Association waited on Gandhi to ask for financial assistance. He told them to submit a detailed report of the activities of the association when their request for help will be considered. At 8-00 p.m. he attended the Congress Parliamentary Board meeting which was held at his residence. At 4-30 p.m. he addressed an audience of 1,000 women (mostly Gujaratis) in the Royal Opera House on the "Harijans and Women's duty towards them." He was presented with a purse of Rs. 50,000 and ornaments. In the course of his speech Gandhi praised the women for their generosity in giving him money and ornaments but remarked that the sum of Rs. 50,000 was nothing for a city like Bombay. He concluded by saying that by contributing to the Harijan cause they were purging themselves for their past sins. A lady then offered him a bangle and a collection also was taken. The collections amounted to Rs. 382-1-6 in addition to a purse of Rs. 683 given to him by the Gandhi Seva Sena.

Note.—Although the attendance at this meeting was comparatively small and the total collection undoubtedly poor, it was significant that the women present held Gandhi in great reverence.

Total contribution to the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 36,840. A sum of Rs. 50 was also collected by Gandhi at a prayer meeting.

16th June 1934.—Between 7-00 and 9-00 a.m. Gandhi in company with Miss. Slade and others visited the Harijan quarters. Between 12-00 noon and 1-30 p.m. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and others discussed with Gandhi the Harijan question and its progress. Ambedkar pointed out that the Congress people took interest in the removal of untouchability so long as Gandhi was present but the moment his back was turned everything was forgotten.

The Congress Parliamentary Board met again at Gandhi's residence and the subject of discussion was the Communal Award. As there were divergent views on this question, Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya had private discussions among themselves before speaking to the Board. Gandhi addressed the Board and said that as the Congress stood for various communities like the Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs, and as the Award was accepted by a majority of the Muslims, it was the duty of the Board to bring about a settlement agreeable to all parties. The Board agreed with his view.

At 6-00 p.m. Gandhi attended a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. About 2,500, persons attended. Gandhi was presented with a purse of Rs. 47,000 on behalf of the citizens of Bombay. Gandhi accepted the purse with thanks and made a speech in Gujarati. He complained that the amount of Rs. 47,000 fell short of his expectations in spite of the fact that Bombay had contributed to the Bihar Relief Fund. He said that contribution towards that Fund was a sort of charity while that towards the Harijan cause was meant for repentance for past sins. He then dwelt on the evils of un-touchability and appealed for the uplift of Harijans. At the close of the meeting he received a few gifts like a suitcase, watch, etc., which he auctioned for Rs. 305.

Total contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 39,468. A sum of Rs. 25 also collected at a prayer meeting.

17th June 1934.—At about 8-30 a.m. Gandhi visited Santa Cruz in the Bombay Suburban District, where he was to address a meeting. About 2,000 Hindus attended. The proceedings opened with the offering of a purse of Rs. 8,050 and a gold necklace. He auctioned the necklace and his own photograph and got Rs. 1,011. He then addressed the meeting and spoke on the removal of untouchability and advocated the elevation of the Harijans.

Note—The audience did not show much enthusiasm compared with former meetings. Rain interrupted the proceedings, which fell rather flat. A deputation of the All-India Swadshi Sangh waited upon Gandhi to know his views about *Swadeshi Industries*. The deputation was headed by Sir Lalloobhai Samaldas Mehta. At 4-30 p.m. a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress was held at Mani Bhuvan which Gandhi attended.

18th June 1934.—At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and the Congress Parliamentary Board, Gandhi managed to make Pandit Malaviya and M. S. Aney withdraw their resignations from the Parliamentary Board. They differed on the question of the Communal Award and had resigned on the previous day.

19th June 1934.—At 8-00 a.m. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Miss. Slade, Jamnalal Bajaj, N. S. Hardikar and a few others, left Bombay for Poona. Total contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 40,795-11-9.

General Note on Gandhi's visit to Bombay.—The enthusiasm which Gandhi's visit usually aroused was absent this time. His visit did not

create any appreciable enthusiasm even among the depressed classes. The orthodox *Sanatanists* very carefully avoided him. Although his visit was in connection with Harijans and their betterment, even these were conspicuously absent from meetings.

19th June 1934.—Gandhi arrived at Poona at 11-50 a.m. There were about 1,000 persons gathered on the station, while a crowd of about 2,000 persons had collected outside the station. Among the prominent persons on the platform were N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, N. V. Gadgil and others.

Gandhi who had to be escorted by the Police out of the station premises owing to the pressure of the crowd drove to Karsandas Dharmsey's bungalow where his working headquarters are located. At night he stays at Lady Thakersey's bungalow at Yervada.

Page 342.

At 2-00 p.m. the Secretary of the Maharashtra Harijan Board handed over to Gandhi a report on the work done in connection with Harijan uplift. At 3-30 p.m. members of the Poona City Harijan Seva Sangh had discussions with Gandhi about Harijan work in Poona. The subjects discussed were sweepers' quarrels, carrion-eating by Harijans, building of hostels for Harijan children, etc. Gandhi was however completely dissatisfied with the Poona Harijan work, which he thought was practically nil. At 7-30 p.m. Gandhi had his prayer meeting in the compound where about 80 persons had gathered. He collected about Rs. 30.

Note.—Long before the arrival of Gandhi the local *Sanatanists* indulged in hostile demonstrations to show their opposition to Gandhi. A black flag procession paraded through the main streets in the City and ended in a meeting at the Shivaji Mandir. The public however treated their demonstrations more as a joke than serious agitation against Gandhi. The *Sana*-tanists however managed to invade Gandhi's compartment when the train halted at Kirkee and several black flags were presented to him. An attempt at a similar demonstration at Poona Station was forcibly prevented by Gandhi's supporters.

The enthusiasm of the Poona public (such as it was) centred only at Poona Railways Station where however Muhammadans were conspicuous by their absence. For a city, the size of Poona, the crowd was a small one and the welcome lukewarm. As regards contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund, it appears that the local Congress leaders are finding it very difficult to make any headway. A list has been prepared with the object collecting Rs. 3,000; definite sums being put against various individuals who are expected by any means they like to raise their quotas for the fund. So far the total amount collected is reported to be Rs. 1,000.

20th June 1934.—Congressmen from various districts in the Maharashtra visited Gandhi in the course of the day.

From 12-00 noon to 1-30 p.m. Gandhi discussed the Indian States' Subjects problem with N. C. Kelkar, S. G. Vaze, D. V. Gokhale and others. He agreed to the question of equal rights being accorded to Indian States Subjects along with British subjects but observed that agitation in this connection should be carried on by the States people themselves and not by the Congress, and promised full support to this movement.

From 8-30 a.m. to 10-00 a.m. and again from 4 p.m. to 5 p.m. he had discussions with Congress workers. S. D. Deo, the Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, gave a brief account of the work done by the Congress during the last three years and asked those present if they had any questions to put to Gandhi regarding the constructive programme chalked out by the Congress Working Committee at Bombay. The discussions in the afternoon were confined to the Communal Award, White Paper and Labour Organisation. Gandhi said that in his opinion the Communal Award was as bad as the White Paper. Collections for the Harijan Fund have not exceeded Rs. 1,500 so far. An amount of Rs. 500 has been promised by the local college students for presenting to Gandhi at a meeting, but it is reported that Gandhi is dissatisfied with this amount and expected it to reach Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000. A student from the Fergusson College retorted that if Gandhi was not prepared to accept it the sum may be given over to the Women's University. Attempts however are being made to persuade him to receive this contribution gracefully. In the evening Gandhi had his usual prayer meeting which was attended by about 150 persons. The sum of Rs. 150, four gold rings and a fountain pen were collected at the meeting.

21st June 1934.—Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar, S. M. Mate, P. N. Rajbhoj and a few others, visited four Harijan localities in Poona City. He was shocked to see the people dwelling in the midst of filth and other insanitary conditions and regretted that the Poona City Municipality was not taking proper care of its own citizens. At 8-15 a.m. Gandhi visited the Yerandavana Women's University. He received a purse of Rs. 30 collected by the girls. He then proceeded to the Widows' Home at Hingne. Here he was presented with a purse of Rs. 51 with which he was pleased. He told the inmates of the Home not to be engrossed in worldly affairs but to dedicate themselves to the service of the country. He also advised them to learn Hindi as that was going to be made the "*Lingua franca*" of India.

At 6-30 p.m. Gandhi arrived at the Tilak Memorial Hall where he was to receive the address from the Poona students. Admission to the meeting was by tickets in the beginning but due to rush all gates had to be opened with the result that the audience swelled to 4,000. The address itself which was very brief was to the effect that the Poona schools and colleges fully sympathised with the Harijan movement and promised to do their bit in this cause. Gandhi advised the students to learn Hindi and take up Harijan work immediately. The sum of Rs. 500 which was to be presented to him still remains to be collected. The address was auctioned by Gandhi and it fetched Rs. 30. Gandhi in expressing his dissatisfaction with the meagre contribution from the students urged them to collect something from the audience present, but the response was feeble.

Note.—It is reported that several telegrams were addressed to Gandhi from Pandharpur, Nasik, and Belgaum by *Sanatanists* censuring him for coming to Maharashtra in spite of their protest. These telegrams, it is said, however, were suppressed by A. V. Thakkar who did not allow them to reach Gandhi's hands.

Page 347, Para 638.

GENERAL MILL STRIKE SITUATION IN BOMBAY.

Vide Para. 613, S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona June 25.—The following is a brief account of the General Mill Strike situation in Bombay: —

Date	[Number of Mills Working]	Closed
June 14	47	9

Remarks.—A. A. Alwe, Abdul Majid, V. K. Tade, Tavde, G. V. Kandal-kar, R. B. Nerkar and V. H. Joshi, of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Kandalkar's Party), interviewed M. K. Gandhi and acquainted him with the strike situation. He expressed his sympathy for the strikers and promised to do his best in the interest of the workers, but made it clear that in view of the reply given to Purshottamdas Tricumdas by H. P. Mody the success of his mediation was rather remote.

Page 356, Para 647.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 30.—The following is a further account of M. K. Gandhi's visit to Poona and Ahmedabad: —

M. K. GANDHI'S HARIJAN TOUR IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

22nd June 1934.—At 2-00 p.m. M. S. Aney called on Gandhi and was closeted with him for most part of the afternoon discussing the Communal Award and the Bengal election dispute questions. In connection with a discussion brought about by S. K. Barve and Acharya Limaye of the Tilak University, Gandhi advised that National Schools should be opened in villages and no Government grant should be accepted. In the course of the day Gandhi visited the Mang Colony in Navi Peth where he was presented with an address from the community, but no purse. He also laid the foundation stone of a primary school for the Mang Community. Gandhi was then taken to the Harijan Boarding House conducted by P. N. Rajbhoj in Ghorpade Peth where he was presented with a pair of sandals.

Note.—It seems that Gandhi suspects this institution to be a bogus one and went away with the idea that it did not deserve any financial help from the Harijan or Congress Funds.

He then visited Baburao Valvekar's house where he received a purse of Rs. 700. The merchants in Gul Alley and Bhawani Peth presented him with a purse of Rs. 575 before a crowd of about 2,000 people. A welcome speech read out for the occasion was not replied to by Gandhi.

He then went to Ahilya Ashram of the Depressed Classes Mission, where he was received by V. R. Shinde, Subhedar R. S. Ghatge and others. Here he declared the Harijan Boarding Hostel for girls as opened. The *Sana-tanists* held a protest meeting at 9-30 p.m. to condemn the maltreatment received by the Sanatani volunteers at the hands of Congressites on the day of Gandhi's arrival and passed a resolution to that effect, which was forwarded to Gandhi.

23rd June 1934.—At 7-40 a.m. Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar and a few others visited the Maharashtra Vyayam Mandal where he was received by S. V. Damle, the Secretary of the Mandal. He was shown round the various departments of the gymnasium including some exhibition of physical drill and exercises by boys and girls. He advised

the boys and girls to give equal attention to moral and spiritual development along with physical culture, and emphasised that all their strength so developed should be utilised in the service of the country. He then left to visit the Khadi Bhandar where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 51 on behalf of the Bhandar. After visiting the Ramnath Ayurvedic Hospital, he returned to his residence at 9-00 a.m. A deputation of Harijan workers waited on Gandhi and discussed Harijan problems; they demanded that 50 per cent of the seats on the Harijan Boards should be allotted to Harijans as high caste Hindus did not safeguard their interests to an appreciable degree. Gandhi promised to consider this question sympathetically.

S. M. Mate and C. B. Agarwal were granted an interview by Gandhi at 2-00 p.m. Certain schemes were suggested to Gandhi for the uplift of Harijans, one of them being that Poona City Municipality should take up the question of building houses for Harijans. Gandhi promised to request the Municipality to undertake this and give sympathetic consideration to the other proposals. At 4-00 p.m. Gandhi addressed a women's meeting in the Kirloskar Theatre which was attended by about 2,000 ladies. He exhorted them to help in removing untouchability and to give money and ornaments in the cause of Harijan uplift work. A young lady presented her earrings worth about Rs. 25. A collection was then made but amounted to only Rs. 86.

At 5-30 p.m. a meeting was convened by the Cantonment citizens at the Depressed Classes' Mission to accord welcome and present a purse of Rs. 1,111 to Gandhi. About 1,500 persons attended. Gandhi made the usual appeal in the cause of Harijan uplift. A portrait of Gandhi in oil presented by a tailor boy was put to auction and fetched Rs. 35. A sum of Rs. 12 was also realised by the sale of a watch presented by a Parsi. Gandhi returned to his residence at 7-00 p.m. At 9-30 p.m. Gandhi as arranged previously, went to Tamboli Masjid to attend a meeting. The meeting which was a mixed one consisting of Muhammadans and Hindus was attended by about 3,000 persons. Gandhi spoke for about 15 minutes and in the course of his speech said that if Muhammadans and Hindus followed the tenets of their own religion, dissensions would disappear and there would be peace and harmony between the two communities in the country. Gandhi left for "*Parnakuti*" at 10-00 p.m.

24th June 1934.—At 9-00 a.m. Gandhi visited the District Local Board and received an address of welcome in a silver casket which was subsequently auctioned for Rs. 101. The address contained an eulogy of Gandhi's political and social work and a brief history of the work done by the District Local Board in cause of Harijans and peasants. Gandhi in his reply, said that the difficulty of removal of Untouchability and the uplift of the Depressed Classes would be greatly solved if District Local Boards and Municipalities exerted themselves. About 200 persons attended the function.

In the afternoon Gandhi had discussions with Harijan workers from various districts in the Maharashtra.

At 6-00 p.m. Gandhi went to a public meeting held in front of Shanwar Wada which was attended by about 10,000 persons. Congress leaders and workers were very prominent, but *Sanatanists* were conspicuously absent, though it was feared these would create some disturbance. Baburao Valvekan in welcoming Gandhi as the greatest personality in India, espoused the cause of the Harijans and ridiculed the *Sanatanists* for their

opposition. N. V. Gadgil then read out the figures of contribution to the Harijan Fund which totalled to Rs. 3,539. In addition, Gandhi was given a cheque for Rs. 2,554 and Rs. 446 in cash by N. V. Gadgil. Gangubai Potdar of West Khandesh presented a gold necklace which was auctioned for Rs. 617. The proceeds are being earmarked for building a Harijan Boarding House in Dhulia. Contributions from the districts of Maharashtra which were presented by the respective deputations are as under:

	Rs.	a.	P.
Ahmednagar	1,001	0	0
East Khandesh	1,125	0	0
West Khandesh	1,001	0	0
Sholapur City	1,001	0	0
Sholapur District	237	0	0
Nasik	527	0	0
Pali (Bhor State)	101	0	0
Satara	550	0	0
Bhaurao Patil of Satara	5	0	0
Ratnagiri	501	0	0
Mahad-Kolaba	101	0	0
Koregaon-Satara	25	0	0
Ambernath-Thana	21	0	0
Total	3,196	0	0

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Shankar Ganesh Lavate, who was the only representative sent by the *Sanatanists* to speak at the meeting and was specially permitted by Gandhi to do so, condemned Gandhi for having started the Harijan movement in a wrong direction as he was trying to get the Temple Entry Bill passed through coercion and force in the legislature, and ridiculed Gandhi for co-operating with a Government which was once denounced by him as "*Satanic*". He further said that *Sanatanists* would oppose the Temple Entry Bill tooth and nail. Gandhi, in reply, said that there was no harm in seeking the help of Government in order to perform the service of Truth, and that he never meant to force the Bill on the Hindu Community. The Harijan Movement, he said, was sort of penance with the object of wiping out untouchability from the Hindu Community. He would not care if the Bill were buried for the want of support from the Hindus. He concluded with his usual observations on Untouchability.

25th June 1934.—The *Sanatanists* held a protest meeting attended by about 200, when Gandhi's action in accepting the Municipal address was criticised, and the Municipality was condemned for presenting an address against the wishes of all orthodox citizens of Poona City and Maharashtra. Gandhi went to the Poona City Municipal Hall to receive the address at about 7-30 p.m. but the function was marred by the bomb explosion which took place just before his arrival. The address which was read out by Baburao Valvekar contained details of work done by the Municipality for the Depressed Classes and an eulogy of Gandhi's Harijan work. The proceedings were wound up rather hurriedly after Gandhi had spoken for 2 minutes only. The presentation casket to Gandhi fetched Rs. 200 in auction. About 3,000 persons attended the function. Gandhi left Poona at 11-00 p.m. for Bombay *en route* to Ahmedabad. The crowd at the station and on the platform numbering not more than 300. The departure was "tame" and unimpressive,

General Note on Gandhi's visit to Poona.—Although he collected quite a good amount of money for the object of his tour, there is no indication that Gandhi has succeeded in bringing about any real change in the attitude of the public towards the Untouchables or the problems of Untouchability and Temple-Entry. The little enthusiasm that was displayed was from his own followers and was more for the sake of hero-worship than for the Harijan cause. The total collections at Poona amounted to about Rs. 14,000 including the proceeds of articles sold at auction and the contributions from Maharashtra districts.

26th June 1934.—Gandhi arrived at Ahmedabad by the Kathiawar Express on the 26th evening. A large crowd including a number of *Sana-tanists* had assembled at the railway station and in its neighbourhood. Shortly after Gandhi left the station, some *Sanatanists* came to blows with some of Gandhi's admirers. They were however dispersed without much trouble.

Page 360.

A number of posters were affixed at prominent places by *Sanatanists* calling on Gandhi to "Leave Ahmedabad." Gandhi went straight to the Jyoti Bhuvan, Sabarmati, where he spent the night.

Page 438, Para. 758.

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bhusawal on 5th August 1934 from Benares and left Bhusawal on 5th August 1934, for Wardha.

Page 477, Para 827.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 7.—Information has been received that the Central Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh decided at a meeting held at Benares on 1st August 1934 that (except in the case of the cities of Bombay and Calcutta) 75 per cent. of the amount so collected should be spent in the areas where they were collected.

Page 570, Para 999.

Bombay City S. B., October 20.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay by Nagpur Mail from Wardha on 20th October. He alighted at the Matunga Railway Station and drove straight to Worli where a special hut had been erected for him near the Subjects Committee pandal of the Congress. Abul Kalam Azad and Jamnalal Bajaj came with him. Immediately after Gandhi's arrival, Vallabhbhai Patel, K. F. Nariman, K. M. Munshi, Nagindas T. Master, Bhulabhai J. Desai and I. S. Patel saw him.

Page 576, Para 1002. 48th Session of I. N. C. Subject Committee meeting, 23rd October 1934.

GANDHI'S RETIREMENT FROM CONGRESS

Before Rajendra Prasad could proceed with the regular business of the meeting, M. K. Gandhi assumed control of the meeting for about an hour. He spoke in Hindi and in English on the question of his retirement. He said that he wished to retire from the Congress and invited blessings from the members of the All-India Congress Committee. He assured them that he was not leaving in a huff but he was going out of the Congress only to enable the Congress to grow to its full and natural height and stature. He was convinced that his presence was like a dead-weight on the Congress which, not being able to express itself freely, had become an artificial body.

The last few months had shown that Congressmen could not purge themselves of artificiality, corruption and an overpowering desire to wrangle among themselves. His object in leaving them was to train the Congress to depend on itself and to develop the power of true non-violence thought, word and deed. Civil resistance, he continued, was another form of nonviolence and he was convinced that it was impossible for India to attain "*Purna Swaraj*" without civil resistance or non-violence. He wanted the spirit of non-violent civil resistance to permeate the whole of society. His knowledge of history, he added, had shown him that no nation had achieved liberty purely by constitutional means. He linked civil resistance with the spinning-wheel, with the Hindu-Muslim unity (not a mere patched up pact) and to removal of untouchability. If in the absence of these necessary adjuncts, he had launched his campaign it was only as an experiment and he had no hesitation in withdrawing it when he realised that actual experience was to the contrary. But the country had lost nothing thereby. If they had non-violence in them, let them prove that the proof of the pudding was in the eating. Then he would come back from Mount Everest or the bowels of the earth to lead them against. It was clear that they did not have non-violence in them, for, if they had, the ordinance would not have been thrown at them or they would have proved ineffective. The fact that the message of the *charkha*, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability had not sufficiently impressed them, had proved that they had not imbibed the real spirit of non-violence. Indeed they found it necessary to devise an elaborate machinery simply to keep the Congress clear of corruption, greed and selfishness. There was no chance of success, he finally said until downright honesty and downright non-violence became natural to them. Perhaps he was expecting too much from human nature, but he pleaded guilty to that charge. He appealed to the Subjects Committee to let him go with its blessings and not plead with him to stay. He did not come to them in a bargaining spirit. He refused to be held down by force even if it was the force of love.

Several members of the Subjects Committee after hearing the above statement, appealed to him not to desert them. "What shall we do without you " was the burden of their speeches. B. C. Muzumdar from Bengal doubted whether the Congress without Mr. Gandhi's guidance, would have enough non-violence to meet "the naked violence of Government". Ranchhod Gandhi urged the "dictator" to go on furlough for a period of two years only. G. N. *alias* Balukaka Kanitkar appealed to Gandhi to leave the Congress with a clean slate otherwise his followers would practice the same autocracy that had prevailed all these years. Pandit Madan Mohaa Malaviya made an impassioned speech in Hindi saying that it was not proper for the General to desert his army when the battle had not been won. What the Congress was today, he said, was mostly due to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress could ill-offer to spare him. Mr. Gandhi he added, had no right to leave them without training his followers in his methods and without chalking out for them a course of action to pursue.

After hearing several speakers, Gandhi again spoke in Hindi re-affirming that he was compelled by the dictates of his conscience to leave the Congress. He felt that the reins were slipping out of his hands and that he was unfit to lead the many more. He felt that he was a useless deadweight oppressing the Congress. There was no fear of the parliamentary Party's election campaign suffering on account of its exit because he was sure, the voters would choose Congress candidates if only in the hope of thereby bringing him back to the Congress.

After Gandhi concluded his statement, he showed little interest in the proceedings and began to spin on his *charkha*. He did not attend the meeting after tea.

Page 582, Para 1002.

M. K. Gandhi, then moved- the following resolution: —

"*The All India Village Industries Association.*—Whereas organisations claiming to advance *swadeshi* have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of *swadeshi* and whereas the aim of the Congress had been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village reorganisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand spinning and whereas this work like the reorganisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji an association called the All-India Village Industries Association as part of the activities of the Congress. The said Association will be for the moral and physical advancement of the village, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

Page 582, Para 1002.

In moving the resolution, Gandhi said in Hindi that in his recent tours he had come into contact with the Indian masses and found that the economic distress prevailing in the country was far more acute than it was ten years ago. The peasants were unable to earn anything from agriculture. Crores and crores of rupees worth of gold was sold by the Indians and it has been exported. The peasants were forced to part with their metallic hoardings. They had become more and more helpless from the time they had given up manual labour. He had read an article on "Indian Poverty" in a Socialist paper and the facts and figures in that article had made him think furiously on the question of unemployment and poverty. The *charkha* had provided work to about 2,20,000 persons but that did not touch the fringe of the problem. There was time when India could boast of good carpenters but at present there was not an Indian carpenter who could make a *charkha*. With the help of the *charkha* alone they could put 7 crores into the pockets of the villagers thereby saving 7 crores from being sent to foreign countries. His effort in undertaking the village work through the Village Industries Association was to provide work for the workers and food for the hungry. He would not bargain with the villagers that he would find work for them and they should in turn support his political programme.

Page 584, Para 1002.

Gandhi then replied to the various questions that had arisen from the discussion. He said that the work of the Association would be to revive the industries that were ruined or dead or in the state of dying. The work as to which of those industries should be revived and which should be allowed to die was left to the association. It was not his intention to exploit the villagers. It was to help them. He wanted to increase the earning capacity of the villagers with the help of those who were well off.

He said that he was surprised to find that a man of the type of T. Prakasham supported the amendment of Muzumdar. He (Gandhi) wanted to assure the Subjects Committee that the duty of Congressmen going into the Legislature did not end by merely going there. They would certainly be expected to work for the Industries Association although the Association would have no connection with politics. Congressmen would go to the villages to bring about an economic awakening. Those speakers, who wanted the new association to be under the control of the Congress, seemed to forget that the All India Spinners Association, which was started by the Congress, was not declared unlawful by Government although all the other organisations connected with the Congress were declared so. That was due, he said, to the non-political character of the association. Referring to Govind Sahay's opposition to the resolution, he explained that he was exploiting the capitalists for the benefit of the poor. If anybody was under the impression that he was taking money from them with a view to giving them something in return it was a wrong impression. He was more with the labourers than the capitalists. He only wanted the villagers to be economically independent so that they could never be exploited by the capitalists.

All the amendments were put to the vote and declared lost by a show of hands. The original resolution of Gandhi was carried by an overwhelming majority, only 7 voting against.

Page 597, Para 1003.

INDIAN STATES PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY CITY

Bombay City S. B., October 23.—The Working Committee of the Indian States People's Conference passed the following resolution on October 20th under the presidentship of L. R. Tairsee.

"The Working Committee of the Indian States People's Conference welcomes the assurance conveyed to the Committee by M. K. Gandhi in his letter dated 9th October 1934 from Wardha that the States people are an integral part of the Indian Nation and that they were all one although they were under different systems of Government. The Committee welcomes the assurance given by M. K. Gandhi and request that Indian National Congress to instruct its Working Committee to concede to the people of Indian States the same equal rights in the composition of the Constituent Assembly as will be given to the people of British India. "

Page 607, Para 1027(5).

Bombay City S. B., October 23.—Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Board, a public meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan on October 22nd to celebrate the first death anniversary of the late Vithalbhai J. Patel. About 10,000 people attended the meeting. Dr. M. A. Ansari presided

The president, M. K. Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Sayed Mahmood and Sardul Singh Kaveeshwar made speeches eulogising services of the late Vithalbhai J. Patel to the cause of India's freedom. They appealed to the audience as a mark of appreciation and tribute to his memory to return the Congress candidates to the Legislative Assembly where he had fought for India's freedom.

M. K. Gandhi in the course of his speech said that Vithalbhai Patel was a tough fighter and a great patriot. He appealed to the audience to contribute liberally to his memorial fund in appreciation of the great services rendered by him for the cause of the country.

The Bombay Chronicle, October 23, 1934.

GANDHI'S SPEECH

Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a short Gujarati speech said that he was busy with other work but could not afford to miss this opportunity of paying his tribute to the late Vithalbhai Patel. The first time when speaker met Vithalbhai was in 1915, when the former came to India from South Africa. He did not know that Speaker Patel was a Hindu. He came to know later that the departed leader did not differentiate between a Hindu or a Muslim, a Parsi or a Christian. The first time that the Mahatma was aware that Vithalbhai was a Hindu was at a meeting at Godhra. Not only did he know that he was Hindu, but a patidar at that and the elder brother of the present President of the Indian National Congress, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

In course of time, the two came closer and the Mahatma came to know of the worth of the Speaker Patel, whom he considered to be a great patriot who had attached no value either to money or anything else in the fight for the country. The speaker had heard several stories about the great sacrificing spirit of Vithalbhai.

Continuing Mahatmaji said that Vithalbhai was a very tough fighter. He was a dangerous enemy. Many had realised that it was not easy to argue and win with Vithalbhai. The people all over the country know full well about his fight on the floor of the Assembly.

Out of the amount that he received as the Speaker of the Assembly. Vithalbhai gave away a good portion for the country's cause. He had given Rs. 40,000 for propaganda. This amount was with Gandhiji. He had not made use of the amount and it was still lying with him. He could not make use of the amount for any cause.

While coming to, the meeting, Gandhiji's attention had been drawn to a statement in the "*Chronicle*" which said that the Late Vithalbhai had bequeathed nearly Rs, 12 lakhs. He was surprised to read that account because he was sure that unless Vithalbhai had gambled he could not have bequeathed such a big sum. The speaker knew it for a fact that Vithalbhai did not gamble with money though he was aware that he gambled with *Swaraj*.

Continuing Gandhiji said that he was sure that it was the error of the compositor that made the amount look such a huge one. It is a known fact that Vithalbhai did not have such a huge amount to bequeath.

In conclusion Gandhiji stated that Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai was the Chairman of the Vithalbhai Patel Memorial Committee. He asked those present to contribute liberally to the Memorial Fund.

Gandhiji then left the meeting with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Page 608, Para 1029.

Bombay City S. B., October 26—Congress Working Committee.—The Working Committee of the Congress met again in Gandhi's hut on the 25th when the following members were present.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sayed Mahmood, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, K. F. Nariman, Abdul Kalam Azad.

The Working Committee went through the allegations which were made by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal against the All India Spinners' Association in giving unfair treatment to the Murshidabad Silk Factory and came to the conclusion that the allegations were false. It authorised Babu Rajendra Prasad to refute all the charges against the All-India Spinners' Association. The Working Committee also approved of the new Congress Constitution by accepting most of the suggestions made by Mr. Gandhi in his statement of 15th October 1934. There is a good deal of change regarding the composition of the All-India Congress Committee membership, Provincial Congress Committees and the delegates to the Congress.

Congress Subjects Committee.—The Subjects Committee met again at 3-00 p.m. on the 25th October 1934. The attendance was almost the same as on the previous day.

The day's debate in the Subjects Committee met again at 3-00 p.m. on the 25th October 1934. The attendance was almost the same as on the previous day.

The day's debate in the Subjects Committee clearly revealed that Mr. Gandhi's lieutenants had lost their hold on the rank and file of the Congress. Even an impartial observer could see that there was fierce opposition to the proposals made by the Working Committee regarding the Congress *creed*, spinning or labour franchise and *khaddor* clause. This opposition was partly due to Mr. Gandhi's desire to allow full freedom of voting and partly due to speeches in high-flown Urdu and Hindi which many delegates did not understand. The postponement of the discussion of the question of the Congress creed to the next session of the Congress was tantamount to a defeat of the Working Committee. Taking a lesson from this defeat the Working Committee put forward C. Rajagopalachari to explain the other two resolutions on the spinning franchise and the *khaddar* clause with the desired result of bringing round the members of the Subjects Committee to the Congress point of view. Mr. Gandhi remained throughout an unconcerned but amused spectator.

Page 617, Para 1029.

Congress Subjects Committee meeting on 26th October, 1934 in Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi then made a statement on the question of his retirement. He reiterated many of the points that he had advanced in his statement of October 15th necessitating his retirement. He thanked the Committee for the unanimous resolution which they had passed out of their affection for him. When they had given him the position of a general of an army, they must allow him to judge for himself whether he should serve the army and lead it or whether he should retire making room for another. It was not always the wisest thing for the General to cling to power or office although it might have come to him unsought. It was because there were occasions when Generals had been found to consider themselves unable to hold the reins of office and although the army might insist upon their remaining in command, in the interests of the army and of the cause for which they were fighting, they gave up the command. There was no feeling of defeat in him nor should they take it that he was deserting them. He

confessed that he had come to the end of his resources. He also confessed that he had not lost faith in the efficacy of the means that he had placed at the disposal of the Congress. He however, felt that there was a body of opinion rising in the country which had begun to question the efficacy of those means because a sense of defeat seemed to have overcome them. He repeated that in the dictionary of a *Satyagrahi* there was no such word as defeat. He asked for the blessings of the Congress so that in his search of greater power he could discover means whereby he could give them the faith that was in him. If in his solitude he found that he was wrong in his calculation, he would not wait to be told by them. He would certainly come back to them. He asked the Committee not to be dispirited. He appealed to them not to disturb him in the resolution that he had taken as somehow or other some good would come out of his decision.

As mentioned above, the Working Committee had prevailed upon Mr. Gandhi to move his own resolutions regarding the Congress Constitution. After the above speech was over he made another lengthy speech on the 26th before the Subjects Committee in favour of the new constitution. He said he had put up his soul in to these amendments and that they would spell nothing but good to the Congress. He himself was the author of the old Congress Constitution and now when he was about to retire he was tendering a humble gift to the Congress so that they could get the fruits of the judgment of a man who had endeavoured to keep the constitution alive but discovered flaws in it. If his Constitution was passed without even the change of comma, he would certainly be rejoiced. Pointing out the drawbacks in the old Constitution, he said that even the tallest among them could not say what electorate he represented. The suggestion to reduce the number of delegates from 6,000 to 1,000 endeavoured to combine three things in one election. It meant not only saving of money and time but was rich promise. The old 6,000 delegates disappeared immediately the Congress was over whereas the 1,000 new delegates, that would be elected by them would form the All-India Congress Committee. This change would enable them to hold the Congress Session even in rural areas like Ras or Bardoli. The Congress would have to go to the villages. He strongly criticised the extravagance of the Reception Committee in erecting triumphant arches in "Abdul Gaffar Nagar." He doubted the wisdom of such activities. The New Constitution which he suggested was an iron constitution which would give better representation of one million voters and which would be a feather in the cap of the Congress. He told the members not to bring in dilatory motions and waste one precious year in the life of the nation. He did not think they had done a wise thing in passing the dilatory motion regarding the change in the Congress creed. If they believed in truthfulness and non-violence, it was better for them to declare it to the world by putting those words in the constitution. The Socialists had argued the truthfulness was impossible in practice, but he contended that it was as good an ideal as that of independence. Even he, who was falsely described as a Mahatma, could not be cent per cent truthful and if he were so truthful, every word of his would have pierced them like an arrow. He believed that the words "truthful and non-violent" would better express the aspirations of the Congress. He appealed to them to reconsider their decision in regard to the creed. He wanted the Socialists to be properly represented in the Congress as they formed the advanced wing of the Congress. There was nothing to fear from their activities. That was why he had devised the method of single transferrable vote.

G. N. Kanitkar asked Mr. Gandhi as to why he did not say that the Congress Constitution was not an ideal constitution when he attended the 2nd Round Table Conference.

Gandhi replied that at that time he had not grown his wisdom tooth and realised the drawback in the constitution.

Subjects Committee then adjourned to the 27th October

Page 619, Para 1029.

CONGRESS SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

When the Subjects Committee met on the morning of the 27th Gandhi continued his speech on his amendments to the Congress Constitution. He said that when they discovered so many breaches in the walls of their house, they should fill them in quickly. There was nothing in the new constitution requiring study or reference to outside authority. If they wanted to circulate it, he would take it to mean that they did not want it. If they were not convinced about the absolute necessity of passing the constitution, he would beseech them to reject it. Referring to the question of reducing the strength of the Provincial Congress Committee, he said that he had bitter experience of unwieldy bodies losing sight of the work before them. That was why he was desperately in earnest about it. The essence of democracy did not lie in numerical strength but the spirit behind even one person. Even one man could represent the whole democracy. In England, he said, it was not the House of Commons but it was the Bank of England that dictated policies to the British Ministers. Recently the Bank had finished its business in record time of 13½ minutes. If the bank could manage such a huge affairs in 13½ minutes the Congress should be able to manage its affairs in 5 minutes. Mr. Gandhi then moved that the Subjects Committee should accept the principle underlying the new constitution and appoint a sub-committee to consider the constitution and place their recommendations before the Subjects Committee by 8-30 a.m. on the 28th.

Page 620, Para 1029.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Gandhi said he has been asked whether he would reconsider his decision if the Committee accepted his amendments without changing a comma. He assured them that there was no "danger" of his remaining in the Congress in any event. He asked them to accept the new constitution only if they had confidence in it. He then accepted the draft of the resolution submitted by Mr. Aney which was as follows.

The Subjects Committee accepts the principle underlying the proposed amendments to the constitution and appoints a sub-committee of the following 15 members to examine the details thereof and place its recommendations before the Subjects Committee for approval by the morning of the 28th.

Page 622, Para 1092.

CONGRESS SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Congress Subjects Committee.—The Subjects Committee met again on the morning of the 28th October and held its sitting for nearly 4 hours. The main subject discussed at the meeting was the amended constitution of the Congress. The President announced that the Sub-Committee appointed by them the previous day to go through all the amendments and submit a report, sat practically the whole night and submitted a unanimous report.

He said that the report would be ready within half an hour and placed before the Committee. In the meantime Mr. Gandhi would make a statement explaining the several amendments incorporated in the report.

Mr. Gandhi then explained in detail the various changes in the constitution. He also gave a few more details of the new scheme and then moved that the report of the Sub-Committee be adopted. Purshottamdas Tandon seconded the motion.

Narendra Dev remarked that the report should not have been disposed of within 24 hours. He pointed out that the objection of the Socialists to the first clause to the Constitution still remained.

Sardar Sardul Singh said that weightage should be given to the N. W. F. Province as was done in case of Bombay by giving 21 delegates.

Mr. Gandhi replied that he was not in favour of giving weightage even in the case of Bombay, but he could not help it.

R. K. Sidhwa moved an amendment that the proportion of the All India Congress Committee to the number of delegates should be 16th instead of 1/12th and that during the transitory period the present body should continue to function. In his opinion the All-India Congress Committee should be a deliberative body with at least 360 members.

Swami Govindanand seconded the amendment.

C. Rajagopalachari said that they should either accept the scheme or reject it otherwise the whole scheme would be disrupted.

The President also agreed and said that due weight should be given to the recommendation of the Sub-Committee.

Gandhi then replied to the several points and said that it was unfortunate that so many amendments were moved to the report. He wanted the house to accept the report or reject it *in toto*.

The report was unanimously adopted and Sidhwa's amendment was declared lost.

Gandhi then said that there was one more resolution with regard to the Indian States. He thought it would be better to refer it to a Sub-Committee. The Committee agreed.

Hari Sarvottam Rao moved that rest of the business should be referred to the Working Committee which should submit its report to the All India Congress Committee.

Achut Patwardhan moved an amendment that the Socialist amendment to the creed of the Congress should be dealt with by the Subjects Committee.

Sampurnanand said that it would be improper for the President not to take up the Socialist amendment though 29 members had signed the requisition. The President took the sense of the house and Hari Sarvottam Rao's proposition referring the rest of the business to the Working Committee was carried.

The question of having the next Session of the Congress was then taken up. There were invitations from Maharashtra, United Provinces, Andhra, Ajmer, Meerut, and Ras Village in Borsad Taluka. As United Provinces secured the highest number of votes, it was decided that the next Congress should be held in the United Provinces.

The President then suggested that the present Secretaries and Treasurer should continue in office during the period of transition.

C. Rajagopalachari suggested alteration in Sidhawa's resolution regarding Gandhi's retirement and suggested that mention of the appreciation of Gandhi's services to the nation should be made therein.

The President ruled the suggestion of Rajagopalachari out of order.

Congress and States People.—A private meeting of the States delegates attending the Congress was held in the Delegates Camp at Abdul Gaffar Nagar on the 28th under the presidentship of Wamanrao Naik of Hyderabad (Deccan). About 150 delegates representing Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad, the Deccan States, Kathiawar, Central India and Rajputana States attended. The meeting empowered the President and a few representatives to wait on Mr. Gandhi and ventilate the grievances of the States subject. In accordance with their wishes Mr. Gandhi drafted the following resolution to be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

As numerous resolutions have been received from various groups for adoption by Congress urging it to define its policy in regard to Indian States, it is hereby resolved as follows:

"Congress adheres to its policy of non-interference in the internal administration of various States. Congress, however, regards the whole of Geographical India as an indivisible whole, notwithstanding the fact that it is cut up into parts governed under different systems, and therefore, expresses its regret over the tendency, of some Princes to regard as foreigners. Indians from parts of India other than their own, and repeats its appeal made at the previous sessions of the Congress, to establish responsible Government within their jurisdiction, and recognise the necessity of guaranteeing civic and political liberty of people living in their territories. This Congress assures the politicians residing in different states of full sympathy with their just aspirations for fuller self-expression."

2. A meeting of the Rajputana and Central India States subjects was held at Hira Bagh on the 28th under the presidentship of one Baja Govind Das Malpani. The meeting passed four resolutions (1) demanding the establishment of representative institutions in Indian States safeguarding of fundamental rights of the States subjects, (2) forming a party of 24 persons to work for the people of Rajputana and Central India under the auspices of the Indian States People's Conference, with headquarters in Bombay, (3) demanding the release of political prisoners in Bikaner State, and (4) demanding the removal of the judicial and criminal powers of the *Zamindars* and introducing the abolition of compulsory labour in Native States.

On account of difference of opinion over the question of poll demanded in connection with resolution No. 3, some members walked out of the meeting as a protest *Page 635, Para 1029*.

Open session of the Indian National Congress on 26th October 1934 in Bombay (President: Rajendrababu).

EXHIBITIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

The following resolution was moved from the chair and unanimously passed.

"In as much as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual session of

the Congress, and as these make it impossible for smaller places to invite the Congress, the Reception Committee shall hence forth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations. But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries Association which bodies shall organise these functions so as to combine instructions with entertainment of the general public especially of the villagers with a sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life." Mr. Gandhi then moved the amendments to the Congress constitution but before he began A. Patwardhan raised a point of order. He contended that the whole of the Congress constitution was now under review. An entirely new constitution was being drafted. Article 1 of the constitution which dealt with the creed was the basic of the whole constitution. An amendment must be allowed to be moved when the whole was being overhauled. An attempt was made to move an amendment but it was put off from time to time. The speakers amendment was that after the word " independence " the words " meaning the establishment of an independent state in which power is transferred to the producing masses " should be added and at the end should be added the words to the effect that the Congress would not at any stage compromise with British Imperialism.

The President pointed out that Mr. Gandhi wished to amend portion of the existing constitution. The section which was sought to be amended by Mr. Patwardhan was not one of the sections effected by Mr. Gandhi's amendment. He therefore ruled the amendment out of order.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the House first in Hindi for about an hour and then in English. He said at the outset that it was a matter of shame that he was called upon to speak in English. He could not pour out his heart twice. He next apologised to the delegates for asking them to pass resolution copies of which had not been supplied to them.

Proceeding to explain the implications of the new constitution, he said, that for Congressmen who had agreed to reduce the number of delegates from 14,000 at Nagpur to 6,000 it was only an extension of their self-denial to reduce the number to 2,000. Similarly the number of the All-India Congress Committee was reduced from 350 to 166. The 2,000 delegates were to be elected, i.e., 511 from urban regions and 1,489 from rural areas with a view to giving full justice to villages as well as town dwellers. The constituencies were to be plural. In the urban constituencies there would be not less than 5 delegates to a constituency and 10 delegates to a rural constituency.

Then there were two clauses for *khaddar* and spinning and for manual labour franchise. Instead of the foundation members wearing *khaddar* habitually Congressmen elected to Congress bodies must have worn *khadi* at least for 6 months to qualify as candidates. This clause would apply to candidates as well as elected persons. In the alternative they were to produce some labour for instance carpentry or scavenging villages or taking quinine pills to patients in order to be eligible for election.

Another clause in the amendment sought to empower the delegates to elect the President of the Congress. The Provincial Congress Committee would be comprised of 100 members where there were more than 100 members now. That was also an act of self-denial. No province would be unrepresented on the All-India Congress Committee. In conclusion Mr.

Gandhi urged the House to accept or reject the amendments as a whole, Gandhi's proposition was then put to vote and declared carried by a large majority.

The Bombay Chronicle, October 27, 1934.

MAHATMAJI'S STATEMENT

But events have marched quickly during the past few weeks, Mahatma Gandhi has just made two statements of far-reaching importance in which he has recorded his reading of the history of the past fifteen years, placed his finger unerringly on the secret places of our heart and given us a warning for the future. Not even his worst critics have challenged his analysis and some have even gloated over the situation in an 'I told you so' spirit. It will be best for us and for our country if even at the end of these fifteen years of our struggle we realise the true situation. The first statement was in the nature of a challenge and a feeler the second is the result of the country's reaction to the first. In the final he declared the things that he holds dearer than life-truth and non-violence and *khadi*, reform and revolution through conversion and not compulsion said that as one section of the country was running away from these articles of faith and as the other was giving no effect to the allegiance to them which it professed from year to year there was nothing for it but for him to retire from the Congress. In the second statement he declares his conviction that his retirement is inescapable, but as he retires in order to be of more service to the Congress and the country than heretofore, he has also suggested a reform in the constitution which alone can save the Congress from disruption.

Now that leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Ansari and the Khan Brothers have given their hearty assent to the correctness of Gandhiji's decision, I do not think it is necessary for me to take up your time discussing the *pros* and *cons* of the question of his retirement. I should certainly have done so if my own mind ran counter to the opinions of these colleagues, but I am in hearty agreement with them, though the mind and heart both boggle at the thought of his retirement. But I am steadies as soon as I remind myself that his decision proceeds out of the depth of his devotion to truth and non-violence and it must spur us on to further effect towards those ideals.

But though Mahatmaji has made up his mind not to seek the vote of the Congress on things that make up the warp and woof of his life, I would ask you not to dismiss those things without a thought, and would urge you to realise that implications and to give them some place at least in your programme and your policies. Though I do not claim to have the same living and active faith as Mahatma Gandhi in those things that he has taught some of us at least to hold dear, I must declare my creed and my conviction about them.

About the amendment in the creed I would ask you only one question. Have we really understood by "peaceful and legitimate" anything but "truthful and non-violent" all these years? Has the world outside understood our creed differently? All that we can take to-day and all the discredit that critics and our self-introspecting heart pour upon us spring from the fact that we have kept that lofty creed as our ideal. The world should cease to watch our fight with interest if our creed meant anything less than it has meant all these years. Whatever the failure of our civil resistance to civilise our rulers; there is no gainsaying the fact that there should have been much more unshamed brutality than we have been the victims of, if there had not been this great creed proclaimed by us.

I next come to the yarn franchise and to the much discussed *khadi* clause. I may say without being guilty of national vanity that there is no other flag in the world which, expresses in itself purer and loftier ideals. It rules out in one sweep the fourfold curse of modern humanity, viz., imperialism, militarism, capitalism and industrialism. The spinning wheel and *khadi* are not only the living link between the classes and the masses, they are symbols of the country's determination to resist all forms of exploitation by non-violent means. They represent an era of purification of politics and private life. Remove the *khadi* clause and you will snap the living link between the cities and the villages.

Page 3, Para 2(b).

Wardha, 23rd December 1933.—On 15th December 1933, Gandhi accompanied by Greenless Miraben and others passed through Wardha by train and was met by about 150 persons. Miss Schill and Mrs. O. Boari were given.

Page 10, Para 165.

Nagpur 10th March 1934.—Gandhi passed through Nagpur *en route* to Patna and was met at the station by about 35 leaders including M. S. Aney and Dr. Khare. It is said that Gandhi was consulted about the recent prosecutions and advised an appeal against the convictions.

Page 110, Para 165.

(b) Wardha, 18th March 1934.—On 10th March 1934, Gandhi and his party passed through Wardha *en route* to Patna. At Wardha Jankibai Bazaz, Kamlabai Bazoz, Madalasa Bazaz, Narbadi, Kesarbai, Kusum Bahan, Remeshwardas, Anusuya Kale, Ramdas Gandhi and Lachmibai Gandhi joined them.

Page 212, Para 312.

Bhandara, 10th June 1934.—On 9th June 1934, M. K. Gandhi who was travelling by the 2 Up Mail to Wardha was met at the Gondia railway station by a party of leading Congressites. After being garlanded Awadhehari presented him with his photograph which he auctioned for Rs. 16. Another present, a silver "*pandan*" fetched Rs. 22. Besides this he collected about Rs. 15 from those present.

Page 294' Para 434.

S.B. C.P., 11th August 1934.—The following movements of agitators have been noticed:—

Names	C. P. List No.	C. P. Who's Who No.	Date	From	To	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
M. K. Gandhi	--	--	19th October 1934	--	Wardha	--

Page 216, Para, 322.

M. K. Gandhi passed through Nagpur on the 9th *en route* to Wardha, accompanied by Miss Slade and other women of his party P. M. Naidu, Ganpati Rao Tikekar, Dr. K. L. Sonak, E. S. Patwardhan, Kirpa Shankar Niyogi, Bhiwa, barber, and one or two others joined the party before the train reached Nagpur.

A deputation of about 50 strikers interviewed Gandhi and obtained from him an assurance that the mill situation would be considered at the Working Committee meeting at Wardha. Prominent amongst those present were Awari, Poonamchand Ranka, Chhaganlal Bharuka, Champa Lal Bagdi, G. R. Deo, Narayan, Maratha, and D. V. Deshmukh. A few articles presented to Gandhi were auctioned before the train left.

Page 217, Para. 322.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha in camera from 9 to 11 a.m. and from 2 to 6 p.m. on 12th April 1934. It is understood that it was decided to make efforts to gain the sympathy and interest of the general public by some constructive work and council entry. The Government attitude towards the Red Shirts and the Khudai Khidmatgars of the N. W. F. P. was condemned. It was suggested that M. S. Aney and Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale should stand for the Council. Resolutions were passed expressing sorrow at Mahindra Prasad's death, and to the effect that all Provincial Congress Committees should complete their elections by the end of August at latest and submit their choice, and that the officials of the Working Committee should not exceed their powers. Further deliberations are to take place in Bombay on the 18th and 19th June. Gandhi and party left for Bombay on the evening of the 12th. The party was seen off at Wardha by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj at the railway station. Gandhi asked for offerings on behalf of Harijans and collected Rs. 30.

A women's meeting was held in the *ashram* at Wardha on the 12th, when Mrs. Sarojini Naidu spoke in English asking the audience to support Gandhi and the Congress and advising females to give up "*pardah*". About 150 females attended. The meeting was private.

19th June 1934.—Gandhi passed through Pulgaon by train on 13th June 1934. He collected Rs. 5 at the railway station.

Page 222, Para 330 (b).

14th June 1934.—A labour deputation from Nagpur consisting of Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale and others saw Gandhi in private on 11th June 1934.

Page 223, Para. 331.

S.B. C.P., 16th August 1934.—The following movements of agitators have been noticed: —

Names	C.P. List No.	C.P. Who's Who No.	Date	From	To	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
M. K. Gandhi & Miraben.	--	--	9-6-34 12-6-34	Wardha	Wardha Bombay	

Page 227, Para 334(j).

Buldhana, 24th June 1934.—Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu and other political leaders passed Shegaon on 13th June 1934 by the mail. A few persons attended the station to see them.

Page 232. Para 345(b).

Wardha, 30th June 1934—On the 27th, about 50 persons attended a meeting at Wardha to express gratitude at Gandhi's escape from the bomb.

Page 233, Para 345 (d).

Nimar, 30th June 1934.—On 27th, a small meeting was held in the Morris Library to condemn the attempt to bomb Mr. Gandhi.

Page 275, Para 409.

Gandhi arrived in Wardha on the 5th and commenced his fast on the 7th. According to the *Maharashtra*, Gandhi is said to have told a representative of *the Hindu* that he had no intention of going to jail if he could avoid it.

Page 297, Para 436 (b).

Wardha, 18th August 1934.—The outstanding event of the week was, of course, the breaking of the Mahatmaji's fast.

On 16th, Abhyankarr, Dr. Khare Bhulabhai Desai and Gandhi had a discussion about the Parliamentary Board's meeting to be held on 19th August. It is said that the follownig have been summoned; Abul Kalam Azad, Nilkant Das, Asraf Ali, Satyapal Govind Das fo Jubulpore, Govind Vallabh Pant and Shrikrisha Singh.

Page 322, Para 478.

Wardha, 9th September 1934.—Dr. Dodd, President, South Baptist Convention, and Pastor, First Baptist Church, and Mrs. Dodd, President Dodd College for Girls, Shreveport, Louisiana, U. S. A., came on 4th September 1934, saw Gandhi and returned to Bombay.

Page 315, Para 464, Nagpur.

Awari and Abhyankar went to Wardha on 1st September 1934 to see Mr. Gandhi in connection with the differences between the Nagpur Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committee. The result of the conference is awaited.

Page 322, Para 480 (b), Nagpur.

Malaviya and Aney on one side and Gandhi and Vallabhbbhai Patel on the other discussed the question of candidates for the Assembly on 8th September 1934. Apparently, no decision was reached.

Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour visited Gandhi and then went to Malaviya who treated him with contempt. He was kept waiting a long time outside the Khadi Bhandar, and eventually told plainly that they knew he was only trying to work for his own ends. It has been decided to hold the Bombay Session on the 24th, 25th and 26th October, *i.e.*, three days earlier than formerly proposed.

Page 405, Para 580.

S.B., C.P., 20th October 1934.—The following movements of agitators have been noticed:—

Names	C. P. List No.	C. P. Who's Who No.	Date	From	To	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
M. K. Gandhi	--	--	9-10-34	Wardha	Bombay	

Page 435, Para 610.

S.B., C.P., 10th November 1934.—The following movements or agitators have been noticed:—

Names	C.P. List No.	C.P. Who's Who	Date	From	To	Remark
M. K. Gandhi Abdul Ghaffar Khan Dr. Khan Sadullah Khan Obedulla Khan	--	--	30th October 1934	Bombay	Wardha.	

Page 459, Para 639.

1st December 1934.—On 27th November 1934, a secret meeting of Congress leaders took place at the bungalow of Jamnalal Bajaj, Wardha. Gandhi was present. The following was the matter discussed:—

- (a) Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.
- (b) Improvement of village industries.-
- (c) How to utilize Harijan funds recently collected.

On 28th November 1934, Abhyankar attended a public meeting at Wardha to receive congratulations on his election to the Assembly. One Shri Ram M.L.A., British Guiana, attended. He had arrived at Wardha on 28th November 1934. He said he had come to see Mr. Gandhi. In the meeting Shriram praised Gandhi's efforts to arouse nationalism and said he had started a Gandhi National Scholarship for Indian students in British Guiana. He said he had been born in the C. P. but spent all his life abroad and so apologized for not knowing Hindi or Marathi. Abhyankar, thanking the people, said he was ready to give every drop of blood in his fight against the Government

Page 468, Para 651 (a).

Nagpur, 10th December 1934.—On 2nd December 1934, a meeting of about 300 was held at Killod, Abhyankar attended in company with Dr. Khare, Tikekar, Bharooka Barrister Barlinge, Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, Kanitkar and Dr. Sonak. The speakers repudiated Government's declaration that the Congress was dead and hinted that the Congress strength could be gauged from Gandhi's proposed village uplift propaganda.

Abhyankar has been ill with a poisoned foot, etc. On 8th December 1934. Gandhi, accompanied by Dr. Khan and Jamnalal, came to Nagpur by motor to enquire about Abhyankar's health. The party returned to Wardha after a few hours. V. J. Patel and Bhulabhai Desai are also expected to break journey on 9th December 1934, on their way from Patna to Wardha in order to see Abhyankar.

Pages 472-73, Para 658 (b).

7th December 1934.—Father Elwin is opening another school at Sengurha. He is having his Gond Sewa Mandal registered.

Mr. Gandhi has replied to Father Elwin's invitation to visit Karanjia saying that he will visit the place for three days if the C. P. Government has no objection to his visit. He has advised Father Elwin to write and ask the Government for permission. He has also written that he will not have anything to do with politics.

Page 479, Para 663 (b), Wardha.

15th December 1934.—On the 11th, there was a private meeting in the Ashram to discuss village uplift schemes. Andrews, Shankarrao Joshi, Kumar Appa, Mahadeo Desai, Madan Mohan Chaturvedi and Gandhi were present.

17th December 1934.—Shri Kishen Jaju of Wardha is President of the District Village Industries Association.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is negotiating with Gandhi to sell him his (Seth's) garden near Ramnagar, Wardha and three bungalows and land near railway station for Rs. 85,000 for the headquarters of the Village Industries Association.

Page 166, Para 359.

Names	Departure			Remarks
	Place	Date	For	
M. K. Gandhi	Wardha	20th April 1935	Indore.	
	Indore	24th April 1935	Bhusawal.	
	Bhusawal	24th April 1935	Wardha.	

Page 181, Para 402.

Bombay City S. B., May 10.—C. F. Andrews arrived in Bombay by the S. S. *Chitral* on May 9th and left for Wardha on May 10th to see M. K. Gandhi.

Page 201, Para 456.

Names	Arrival			Departure		
	Place	Date	From	Place	Date	For
M. K. Gandhi	Bombay	22nd May 1935	Wardha	Bombay	22nd May 1935	Borsad.
Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi Mahadeo H. Desai	Bombay	22nd May 1935	Wardha	Bombay	22nd May 1935	Borsad.

Page 202, Para 458.

Bombay City S. B., May 24.—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mahadev H. Desai, Messrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Dr. Ceresole and Mr. Wilkinson, arrived in Bombay from Wardha on the morning of May 22nd. They were received at the Victoria Terminus by Vallabhbhai J. Patel (who arrived in Bombay from Borsad on May 21st), K. F. Nariman, Mr. and Mrs. K. M. Munshi, Ganpati Shankar, N. Desai, S. K. Patil and about 50 Congress workers. He put up at Mani Bhuwan at Gamdevi. Between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. he and Vallabhbhai Patel saw Mrs. Kamala Nehru at Jal A. D. Nowroji's bungalow, Nepean Sea Road and wished her *bon voyage*.

In the afternoon he paid a visit for a few minutes to the All-India Village Industries Association's centre in Nair Building, Lamington Road, started by the members of the Gandhi Seva Sena. He was also seen by persons interested in the spread of Hindi language and the workers of the All-India Village Industries Association led by Soorji Vallabhdas and Mrs. Ferin Captain.

In the evening he delivered a public discourse at Congress House on the efficacy of prayer. He made a very short speech in Hindi and said that the

people had no cause for despair. If the public followed the programme of the Congress, the portals of freedom or *Swaraj* would be open to them. He advised people to invoke the assistance of God when they were overcome by feelings of despair and weakness. He then led the prayer by reciting Sanskrit verses from the *Bhagvat Geeta* and his favourite prayer ' song of *Raghupati Raghav Rajaram*. After the prayers were over, he told the people to contribute to the Harijan fund according to their mite. No money was collected on the spot. There were about 5,000 persons (3,000 inside the Congress compound admitted by tickets and 2,000 collected on the road) present at the time of public prayer.

Gandhi, accompanied by Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Gandhi, Mahadev Desai, Dr. Bhasker Patel and Miss Maniben Patel, left Bombay for Borsad by Gujarat Mail on the night of May 22nd.

Page 8-9, Para 13

13. *S.B., C.P., 29th December 1934.*—The following movements of agitators have been noticed:—

Names	Date	From	To
M. K. Gandhi Mirabai Devidas Gandhi Dr. Khan	29-12-34.	Wardha	Delhi.

Page 21, Para. 25(a).

25. (a) *Wardha, 5th January 1935.*—On the 25th December, Mahatma Gandhi visited the R.S.S. camp at Wardha, Hedgewar, Bhopatkar, Naik and Sir M. V. Joshi also attended. Hedgewar and L. B. Bhopatkar, were given a public reception on arrival at the railway station and escorted round the town by the R.S.S. band etc. In the afternoon, H. K. Joshi explained that this was the 7th session and pleaded for pecuniary help.

Hedgewar spoke on discipline and stressed physical fitness to enable the boys to bear arms when the time arose. He, however, urged them to disobey even their parents if the latter went against the Sangh's rules.

Bhopatkar urged an increase of R. S. S. members. He pointed out how Shivaji had routed the Mohammadans. Shivaji's *guru*, Ramdas, had told Shivaji to kill anyone who stood in the way, and Shivaji did so. After the Mohammadans, the British came on the scene over 150 years ago, and were still ruling India in a most unsatisfactory fashion. Hence a strong R. S. S. was needed. Shivaji overpowered Aurangzeb, and they must emulate Shivaji. The speaker condemned the peaceful tactics of Gandhi and said that non-violent methods did not appeal to him. However, this was not the time to explain his views. When the necessity arose he would do so.

Page 56, Para 69.

69. *S.B., C.P., 26th January 1935.*—The following movements of agitators have been noticed.:—

Names	Date	From	To
M. K. Gandhi Miraben	29-1-35.	Delhi.	Wardha

Page 61, Para 73(a).

73. (a) *Wardha, 1st February 1935.*—Mr. Gandhi has left the Ashram and is now living in Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's bungalow which has been given to the Village Industries Association.

Page 70-71, Para 86.

86. *S. B., C. P., 2nd February 1935.*—The following movements of agitators have been noticed:—

Names	Date	From	To
Mr. Gandhi Mrs. Gandhi Mira Ben and Party	29-1-35.	Delhi	Wardha

Page 84-85, Para 103 (b).

103. (b) *Wardha, 13th February 1935.*—On 8th February 1935, Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 1,500 at Wardha in connection with the anniversary of the Laxmi Narayan temple. His speech was mainly a condemnation of the Marwaris for refusing to attend the temple when it was opened to untouchables. He also referred briefly to the All-India Village Industries Scheme.

Page 102-103, Para. 123(a).

123. (a) *Nagpur, 25th February 1935.*—On 23rd February 1935, Mr. Gandhi M. K. arrived in Nagpur, and was received by Mrs. Anusuya-bai Kale, Tikekar, Datar, and Patwardhan at the railway station. At Itwari, he opened the New Khadi Bhandar where he was received with *jais*. About 600 persons including Parkash and G. R. Pradhan and their wives clad in *khadi*, were present.

Dharmadhikari opened the proceedings and introduced Mr. Gandhi. Gandhi made no political utterances, but said he would not be satisfied until there was a similar shop in every *mohalla*. He then proceeded with Tikekar, Kale, Samiulla Khan etc, to Bagarganj where he inspected the leather tanning factory, and on his way to Dhantoli he visited the Imambada Harijan Pathshale. Later, he opened the Khadi "bhandar" at Sitaburdi in the presence of about 200 persons.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the Chitnavis Park. About 10,000 persons were present including about 1,000 women, Mrs. Kale presided and opened the proceedings.

Gandhi said that the use of *khadi* could be increased by organized rural activities. Concerning his Village Industries Scheme, he regarded it as a divine mission. The scheme could lead India to her original reputation of being a land of gold. He further explained that no country excepting India and China was fortunate enough in possessing such an immense living machinery in the shape of a vast population. The introduction of machine power would result in the unemployment of crores of her children with consequent starvation. In conclusion he appealed for public support for the success of this adventure in the later part of his life.

It was noticeable that the Poonamchand group took no part in the above functions.

Page 188, Para. 244.

244. *Wardha, 20th April 1935.*—The following Japanese priests arrived at Wardha from Bombay on the 15th April, visited Mr. Gandhi at the Ashram and proceeded to Nagpur on the 17th instant:—

Tadao Okitsu.
G. Fujli.
N. Tenzaki.
Nagai.
Imai.
Mrs. Ishibashi.

Page 198, Para 260.

FOREIGNERS

260. *Wardha, 27th April 1935.*—On the 25th April, the Rev. Noboru, *alias* Kasho, Tenzaki, Buddhist priest, arrived here from Nagpur to see Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He is staying in Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's garden at Wardha.

Page 204-205-206, Para 264.

264. *S. B., C. P., 27th April 1935*—The following is a note on Gandhi Sewa Sangh:

The Sangh was first heard of in this province after Gandhi moved his headquarters to Wardha, when a meeting of the Sangh was attended by the following members of All-India Congress Committee, who met there in November 1934:—

Jamnalal Bajaj.
Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel.
C. Rajagopalachariar.
Gangadhar Balkrishna Deshpande.
Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitarammayya.
Jairamdas Daulatram.

At this conference a sub-committee was appointed to revise the constitution of the Sangh.

Page 248, Para 339.

Miscellaneous

Wardha, 8th June 1935.—The following four Nepalese visited Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the 3rd June:—

1. Tulsi Mer Bahadur.
2. Ganesh Bahadur.
3. Harindra Bahadur.
4. Harembh Bahadur.

The subject of their conversation is unknown.

FOREIGNERS

Page 252, Para 343.

Wardha, 14th June 1935.—On the 8th June, Frank Oberdor of Seville, Spain, possessing passport No. F. 9.35, Deutsches Reich, dated 5th June 1935, arrived at Wardha and is staying at the *ashram* with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He states that he is an historian and is intending to visit Nagpur and the Ajanta Caves.

Page 253, Para 346 (b).

Wardha, 14th June 1935.—Rajendra Prasad arrived at Pulgaon on the 12th June and was received by Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare of Nagpur and about 30 local Congressites. Sheora, president of the Pulgaon municipality, presented an address to him. Rajendra Prasad spoke briefly urging enlistment of Congress members and calling attention to the All-India Village Industries Association Scheme. The party then went to Arvi. On the way some 20 persons, led by Nilkanth Sadashiv Deshmukh of Virul, garlanded him. 75 Members were enrolled in Pulgaon. From Arvi, the party proceeded to Wardha where they visited Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi at the *ashram* and thence to Hinganghat. Madhav Janardan Kanetkar and Eknath Shripat Patwardhan, both of Nagpur, accompanied them.

Page 308, Para 426.

Wardha, 26th July 1935.—The All-India Village Industries Association's concerns are reported to be in a prosperous condition. Four villagers of village Rohta have started a factory for the production of *niwar*, curtains and durries, etc. Tejram Gahlot Bhamti has brought this to the notice of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jamnalal Bajaj and a suggestion has been made to encourage the project with a grant of Rs. 400 and affiliate the factory to the Association. Handmade paper is also to be made.

Page 427, Para 595.

S. B., C. P., 2nd November 1935.—A meeting of the council of the All-India Spinner's Association was held at Wardha from the 11th to 13th October. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi has resumed active administration in the capacity of president, relieving Jamnalal Bajaj who was the officiating president.

The following members attended:—

M. K. Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbai Javerbhai Patel, Satish-chandra Das Gupta, Konda Venkatappaya, Jamnalal Bajaj, V. V. Jera-jani, V. Narayanmoorti and Shankarlal Bankar.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Gopalbandhu Chaudhary, Jiwatram Bhagwan-das Kripalani and Shri Krishnadas Jaju and Secretaries of provincial branches were present by invitation.

The meeting considered the question of suitable standard of wage for spinners and adopted the following resolutions:—

1. Recommending a progressive rise in spinners' wages to enable them to maintain themselves on their earnings.

2. Declaring that the mission of the Association is make every home in India self-sufficing through *khadi* in respect of clothing requirements and to promote the welfare of spinners.

3. Enjoining on all workers the exclusive use of *khadi* for their clothing requirements.

4. Urging all branches and affiliated bodies to avoid losses by restricting production to the demand within their own area.

5. In order to avoid over-production, urging producers to restrict employment of spinners to persons dependent on spinning for their livelihood, and suggesting payment of wages also in kind.

6. To avoid overlapping and undue competition, declaring that in a centre with many producing organizations the area of operation for each shall be previously defined and renewal of old certificates of private producers shall be restricted to those who agreed to be governed by the rules applicable to the Association's branches.

7. Urging promotion of the scheme of self-sufficing *khadi* as the primary and imperative duty of all organizations working under the Association. Resignation of C. Rajagopalachariar, Ranchhodlal Amrit-lal and Manilal Kothari were accepted, and Shri Krishnadas Jaju and Gopalbandhu Chaudhary were elected as members of the Council.

Page 43, Para 98.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 25.—M. K. Gandhi, Miss Mani-ben Patel, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, V. J. Patel, and Mahadeo H. Desai arrived in Bombay from Wardha on 17th January 1936.

Page 53, Para. 126.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 1.—M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Mahadeo H. Desai, V. J. Patel, and Miss Maniben Patel left Bombay for Ahmedabad on 21st January 1936.

(P. 19).

Bombay City, S. B., May 5th.—It is learnt from a reliable source that M. K. Gandhi has recently expressed his views about Jawaharlal Nehru as follows:

Jawaharlal Nehru has acted as was to be expected. He has given his views in his address and has chosen for his cabinet a majority of those who represent the orthodox Congress view. While Gandhi agrees with Nehru's views in most matters, including the desire to get rid of the New Constitution and his ideals about land, etc., he cannot accept Nehru's methods. Gandhi favours the avoidance of class war but Nehru, while desirous also of avoiding such a clash, does not believe it can be avoided. Gandhi describes Nehru as extreme in his presentation of matters but sober in action so that he is not likely to precipitate a conflict though he would not shirk it if it were forced on him. Gandhi is hopeful that Jawaharlal Nehru will abide by the decisions arrived at by the majority of his colleagues though it may be irksome for him to do so, Gandhi inclines to the view that his view and Jawaharlal's have become increasingly divergent of late.

Page 252, Para, 618.

Poona, Saturday, July 4th.—The major event of the week in the political field has been a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha, C. P. The extent of their deliberations is not known but from such information as is available it would appear that Jawaharlal Nehru has been effectively muzzled which proves that M. K. Gandhi is still master of the situation. Congress intends to contest vigorously the elections, to the Upper as well as the Lower Houses and a Central Executive Committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Satyapal, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. T. Prakasam, Acharya Narendra Deo, Dr. B. N. Khare, Mr. S. Satyamurti and one representative from Bengal yet to be nominated, has been appointed by the All-India Congress Committee for the organisation and control of the Congress electioneering campaign.

Page 287; Para. 702.

Poona, 8th August.—Congress propaganda is also vigorous in the East Khandesh District where seven meetings were held during the last week. It is reported that M. K. Gandhi will come and camp near Faizpur about a month prior to the holding of the Session and will conduct a rural uplift campaign in the surrounding villages. An exhibition of *swadeshi* goods and the usual side-shows will be held at the time of the session.

Page 115, Para 150(c).

Chanda, 5th March 1939—On the 29th February, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel, Gangadhar Balkrishna Deshpande, Jamnalal Bajaj of Wardha and about 20 men and 10 women of Wardha visited Chanda. The same day they and some locals went to Saoli, S. H. Mul, where a meeting was addressed by Shri Krishnadas Jaju. He spoke on sanitation, the use of *khadi*, etc. Later a spinning display on the *charkha* was given. So far there has been little interest taken in Mr. Gandhi's visit. *Page 156, Para 235.*

(a) Nagpur, 28th April 1936.—The all absorbing event of the week was the visit to Nagpur of Messrs. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad. The first to arrive was Rajendra Prasad (morning 23rd). Mr. Gandhi arrived the same evening (by car) and J. L. Nehru by train the next morning. Nehru received the most enthusiastic welcome, being met at the station by a crowd estimated at 8,000 in which the leading lights of the Congress Committee, the depressed classes, the Textile and Railway Unions, the local Communist Party and the Municipality were present. The crowd was well organized by men and women volunteers.

En-route to Nagpur, Nehru was welcomed at Narkhed and Katol stations by prominent local Congressites by whom he was garlanded. At Katol, about 500 persons were on the platform.

Among other events connected with Nehru's visit were the following:

1. An official welcome by the Nagpur Textile Union on the 25th at which Shripad Yeshwant Kulkarni, Gangadhar Martand Mote, Purushottam Dattatraya Marathe and Pandurang Laxman Ghanekar were much in evidence. Nehru was accompanied by Narendra Deo and Nilkanth Sadashiv Deshmukh of Viral. He advised the Union to merge itself into the Congress and assured them that this would prove a success.

2. A flag hoisting ceremony at the Patwardhan High School grounds at which about 2,000 persons were present. The flag was unfurled by Nehru who made a short speech of no special importance. This function took place on the 26th.

3. Unveiling of Ganpatrao Tikekar's portrait by Rajendra Prasad.

4. Visit to the Abhyankar Memorial Free Library (26th).

About 500 attended and Nehru gave a short address. One important result of Nehru's visit to Nagpur has been the reconciliation between the Poonamchand-Awari group and the regular Congress group who have been daggers-drawn for some time. He interviewed the leaders of both parties and despite the unbending attitude of Poonamchand-Ranka, eventually induced him to rejoin the official party by holding out hopes that his supporters would be successful in the next Congress election, to be held in three months time. To mark the reconciliation, Nehru accepted an invitation to visit the houses of Ranka and Awari.

Among other prominent persons who came to Nagpur while Nehru was here were:—

Vallabhbhai Javeribhai Patel, Jai Prakash Narayan, Rajagopalchariar, V. V. Giri, Ravi Shankar Shukia, Brijlal Biyani, and Kashinath Vitthal Sahasrabudhe.

Page 163, Para 247(a).

S. B., C. P., 27th April 1936.—The All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was held at Nagpur from the 24th to the 26th of April, Rajendra Prasad presiding. About 500 persons attended on the first day and about 200 on the following two days. Prominent were Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Premchand, Govind Raghunath Pradhan,

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Kamalabai Kibe, Ravishankar Shukia, Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, K. M. Munshi, C. Rajagopaiachariar, Maha-deo, Haribhai Desai, Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, Purushottamdas Tandon, Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, Dr. Laxman Wasudeo Paranjpe, Gopal Anant Ogle, Brijlal Biyani and Chhaganlal Barukha.

In his address of welcome, Brijlal Biyani proposed that there should be one language for the whole country, and English for dealing with subjects of international import.

Rajendra Prasad recommended Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India which he maintained, would be a step towards nationalism.

Several unimportant resolutions were passed and a sub-committee appointed to compile a vocabulary of words from other languages in use in Hindi.

A slight stir was caused during the second day's proceedings by the distribution of a pamphlet accusing Mr. Gandhi of being responsible for Subhas Chandra Bose's arrest and on the third day, there was heated argument as a result of Jagannath Prasad Verma's resolution recommending that the 52 stanzas entitled *Shiva Bhawani* should not be interfered with. In the course of the argument, Verma accused Mr. Gandhi of partiality towards the Muslims. The resolution was lost by a margin of 16 votes.

Page 164, Para 247(b).

S. B., C. P., 25th April 1936.—The proceedings of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad (All-India Literary Conference) commenced at Nagpur on the 24th April, Mr. M. K. Gandhi presiding. Prominent were Vallabhbhai Javeribhai Patel, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Jamnalal Bajaj, Rajendra Prasad, K. M. Munshi, Shankar Dattatraya Deo, Dr. N. B. Khare, Sharma, Prof. Pendse, Makhanlal Chaturvedi, Ghule Shastri, Purushottamdas Tandon, Ravishankar Shukia, Narendra Deo, Profs. Jain, Deshmukh, Banahatti, and Vidyalankar, Samiulla Khan, Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale and Vidyavati wife of Pannalal Parwar. Jawaharlal Nehru arrived later.

D. B. Kalelkar, President of the Reception Committee in the course of his address of welcome, said the reason for there being no common language for India was due to foreign domination and the fact that education was not in the hands of the people. He recommended Hindi and Nagri as the language and script, respectively for the country. He maintained that the function of literature was service to the masses.

Mr. Gandhi deplored the fact that Indians should prefer a foreign language to their own urged the necessity of propaganda in villages to make the villagers literate and agreed with Kalelkar's recommendations regarding the common language and script for the country.

With the exception of a few who are members of the Hindu Sabha, the Maharashtrians of Nagpur took no part in the proceedings.

The conference continued its sitting the following day. About 200 persons were present. Several resolutions were passed, the chief of which were—

(1) Urging the evolution of a common language from the various languages in India.

(2) Encouraging all literature free from communal hatred and other bias; and

(3) Appointing a committee with Mr. M. K. Gandhi as President and Rajendra Prasad as Vice-President to frame rules, etc.

The conference, which was organized by the Congress aroused very little interest.

Page 169, Para 250 (a).

Wardha, 2nd May 1936.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi has gone to reside at Shegaon, a village belonging to Jamnalal Bajaj three miles from Wardha, to carry on the work of the village uplift there.

Page 175, Para 264.

Wardha, 8th May 1936.—The A.I.V.I.A. exhibition at Maganwadi was opened by Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the 3rd May. About 300 persons assembled. Shri Krishna Das Jaju, president of the association, delivered a speech. He said that the exhibition displayed articles not of luxury but of poverty representing the condition of India. Prevalent poverty was due to the lack of cottage industries which must be revived. He then asked Mr. Gandhi to open the exhibition. Mr. Gandhi said that the exhibition was meant for the villagers for whose benefit the A.I.V.I.A. had been formed. He attributed their poverty to the merchant class who sucked the blood of the poor villagers. He exhorted the audience to revive cottage industries. He further described the advantages of hand-made over machine made products. He then declared the exhibition opened.

As part of the exhibition programme, Dattatray Balkrishna Kalelkar delivered a lecture on art and occupation. About 70 *ashramites* attended. He advocated the revival of cottage industries and pointed out the increasing strength of the capitalists at the cost of the labour and farmer classes.

A *khadi* fair was held on the 5th and 6th May at village Paunar, under the auspices of Wardha Tahsil Gram Seva Sangh. The function was opened by Jamnalal Bajaj. Mr. Gandhi attended. Speeches were delivered on *khadi*, village industries, etc.

Page 185, Para 280(b).

S. B., C. P., 21st May 1936.—A meeting of the board of management was held at Maganwadi, Wardha, on the 7th May under the presidency of Shrikrishnadas Jaju. The following members attended.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Laxmidas P. Asar, Suraj Vallabhdas, Shankarlal Banker, Vaikuntra L. Mehta.

Page 186, Para 280(c)

Wardha, 16th May 1936.—Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi formally opened the A. I. V. I. A. training school on the 8th May. Trimbaklal Bhat, secretary of the school, read out his report, stating that there were 37 students from all the provinces, including Burma. Jamnalal Bajaj has

awarded 10 scholarships of Rs. 6 each and the total amount so far expended on the construction of the buildings is Rs. 4,750. Mr. Gandhi delivered a speech in the course of which he asked all the students to be self-sacrificing in the cause of villagers and to learn Hindi within a month's time.

Page 282, Para 454.

Wardha, 8th August 1936.—Miss P. Lacier, an American Lady of 18, Gramercy Park, New York, with Chiang and Mahadeo Haribhai Desai visited village Shegaon, on the 2nd August to interview Mr. Gandhi. She is reported to be writing a *History of the World* and is touring for the collection of material for the purpose. She collected information about Indian politics and the All-India Village Industries Association from Mahadeo Desai.

(b) Wardha, 24th August 1936.—It is learnt that C. Rajagopala-chariar, Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru had separate and joint interviews with Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi at village Shegaon on the 16th and 17th August. The main topic was the resignation of C. Rajagopalachariar. They all advised him to withdraw his resignation but he refused to do so, stating that he wanted to discuss the matter further with Bhulabhai Desai, Patel and others at Bombay. It is said that Rajendra Prasad read out to Mr. Gandhi the draft election *manifesto* which was finally approved of and handed over to Nehru to be placed before the All-India Congress Committee. Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied by Jamnalal Bajaj left for Bombay on the 17th. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan left with C. Rajgopalachariar for Bombay on the 18th.

Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied by Jamnalal Bajaj paid a visit to the Marwadi Vidyalaya and the Manila Ashram on the 17th August on his way to Shegaon. After Jamnalal Bajaj had traced the history of the school, Nehru addressed the students and staff of the Marwadi Vidyalaya. He said that in modern times students educate themselves with the object of getting jobs whereas their aim should be to perform some service to the nation. He then visited the Mahila Ashram and addressed the inmates on the importance of female education and advised them to devote their lives to social progress after leaving the *ashram*. Kamla Lele, a teacher in the *ashram*, presented handspun yarn to Nehru.

A public electioneering meeting of 300 was held at Arvi on the 11th August. The president of the meeting was Dinkarrao Jachak, *malguzar*. Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare was the chief speaker. He criticised the Government's village uplift programme which, he said, was mere eyewash. Gajanan Diwakar Dhaole, pleader of Nagpur, blamed Government for doing nothing to relieve the distress amongst the cultivators.

The Wardha Taluka Congress Committee has enlisted 681 members up-to-date.

Page 315, Para 506.

Wardha, 90th August 1936.—A meeting of the members of the All-India Spinners' Association was held at Wardha on the 27th and 28th August, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi presiding. The following members attended:—

Rajendra Prasad.
Jamnalal Bajaj.
Vallabhbhai Patel.
Mutra Babu, Bihar.

Maniben Patel, Bombay.
 Brijlal Biyani, Akola.
 Dr. V. V. Jai Rajni.
 Shankarlal Banker, Bombay.
 Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Belgaon.
 Laxmi Shankar, Madras.
 Jamna Prasad.
 Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Calcutta.
 Gopa Bandhoo Chaudhari, Orissa.
 Deodatta Sharma.
 Appasaheb Patwardhan, Poona.
 Dattatray Balkrishna Kalelkar, Wardha.
 Mahadeo Desai, Wardha.
 Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

The proceedings started with the discussion on the budget and statements of accounts. After some discussion it was resolved that the Present rate of *khadi* and wages of spinners should be maintained. It is understood that it was also decided that Rs. 32,000 should be sanctioned from the All-India Spinners' Association funds towards the *khadi* exhibition to be held at Faizpur during the forthcoming Congress Session.

Page 382, Para 603(b).

Wardha, 10th October 1936.—Mr. Mhatre, engineer and architect of Bombay, visited Wardha in connection with the construction of the All-India Village Industries Association Museum at Wardha. The plans and estimate were discussed with J. C. Kumarappa and subsequently with Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Mhatre considered the amount of Rs. 32,000 inadequate. Mhatre has gone back to Bombay and another engineer has been called from Bombay for further consultation.

Page 393, Para 621(b).

Wardha, 18th October 1936.—As a result of discussions between J. C. Kumarappa, Dr. Bharatan, Trimbaklal Bhatt and Shankarlal Banker, and Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi at Shegaon on the 9th October it has been decided to change the curriculum of the All-India Village Industries Association training school. Theoretical instruction will cease and more attention will in future be devoted to practical training. A laboratory attached to the dairy was opened at Maganwadi on the 7th October at a cost of about Rs. 250. The construction of the museum has been started under the supervision of Mhatre, a Bombay engineer.

Page 3, Para 11.

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Pyarelal, his private secretary, S. D. Deo and Miss. Prema Kantak, arrived in Poona by car from Kalyan at 11-30 a.m. on 7th January 1937. He is staying at the residence of Lady Thacke sey, where he stayed during his last visit.

He is *en route* to Travancore in connection with the untouchable move- ment and during his stay in Poona has interviewed Sir C. D. Madgaonkar, the arbitrator in the Ahmedabad mill strike (wage-cut) dispute.

M. K. Gandhi is due to leave Poona by the Madras Express on the 10th instant.

His arrival and stay in Poona has caused little interest.

Page 69, Para 134.

M. K. Gandhi, in declaring the exhibition open, observed that it was his idea to hold the Congress Session in a village and he was not sorry for this move looking to the grand success of the venture. He had thrown all responsibility of carrying on the political fight on the shoulders of Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru and had freed himself to establish closer contact with the village folk and thus rejuvenate the rural India. To awaken the sleeping millions in the villages and hamlets was his task, to that the fight for India's freedom be strengthened. He believed that the rough hands and strong arms of the villager would build up India's economic life again and appealed to all to help him in his task.

Page 70, Para 135.

M. K. Gandhi delivered another speech in the precincts of the exhibition on the 27th December 1936, before a large audience of about 2,000 men and women. This was his first political speech after his retirement from politics since the Bombay Congress. M. K. Gandhi apologised for the delay in the commencement of the function owing to unprecedented rush of men, women and children. He said, "We were not prepared for such a rush of crowd. My objective was to get as big crowd in the Exhibition grounds as possible to get money to cover the expenses. This trade trick was a deliberate design and if some of you have seen *khaddar* or *swadeshi* articles by accident or mistake, I feel satisfied and share in the good done.

Dilating upon the economic and political struggle he added since my stay in Shegaon, I am visualising a state in the country when Lord Linlithgow will come to the Indian National Congress and declare that he was wrong in his impression of the Indian People. He had thought that Congress people were violent people. That they were terrorists. He would declare that he was misinformed. Then he would ask the Congress, whether he should continue to remain in India, or take the next boat home. Then we will say that we have got plenty of space in our country for people like him, and we have no objection to him and his friends staying in the country, provided they are prepared to accommodate themselves to our conditions.

Gandhi further declared that people might think that he had not the power that he had before. He assured his audience that he was as strong and powerful as he was ever and when the occasion arose for it he would prove it.

He for one was convinced that *Swaraj* or *Ramraj* could be got for India without going to jails. Nothing would be achieved through legislatures. He was sure that if the people of India filled in a square with four sides, namely, economical, political, social and moral, *swaraj* was within their grasp.

Page 71, Para 139.

Responding to a special invitation from S. D. Deo (Chairman of the reception committee), M. K. Gandhi addressed the sanitary section of volunteers on the 29th December 1936 in their camp. He praised their services and tried to impress upon them that they should not consider their work as a low and derogatory one, as it was done in the cause of humanity. Through sacrifice and service alone they would build up a nation. He hoped that the volunteers would carry this new message to their villages and thus play an important part in bringing *swaraj* nearer. He was sure that Gujarat workers would imitate their example at the next session.

Page 228, Para 276(a).

Wardha, 25th July 1937.—Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar, Secretary of All-India Harijan Sewak Sangh, held a discussion with Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the 19th and 20th July at Shegaon regarding Harijan uplift in the villages.

Page 17.

Bombay City S. B., June 9th.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Wardha by the Calcutta Mail via Nagpur on June 7th. He was accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Dr. Miss Sushila Nair and his two secretaries. He was seen off by about 30 Congressmen including Vallabhbhai Patel, Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Gunvant Kapadia, Soonderdas Morarjee, Mathuradas Tricumjee and Dr. Jivraj Mehta.

Page 267, Para 761.

Poona, 10th June 1937.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Kasturba, Dr. Sushila Nair and his two secretaries, arrived in Bombay from Rajkot on June 2nd. At Dadar railway station about 60 Hindu Maha Sabhaites waved black flags and shouted slogans of *Boycott Congress* and *Hindu Maha Sabha Ki Jai*. Some black flags were thrown into Mr. Gandhi's compartment. Printed leaflets containing abusive Marathi verses condemning Gandhi's policy were distributed at the station.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated June 5, 1939

SPEECH AT BIRLA HOUSE ON 4TH JUNE 1939

Mahatma Enunciates His "New Technique "

I have had prolonged conversations with Sijts. Pattam Thanu Pillai. Verghese and J. Philipose over the situation in Travancore. My rich experiences in Rajkot show me that civil disobedience in Travancore was suspended at the right time.

The Rajkot recantation teaches me that it is not enough to have withdrawn the charges against Sir C. P. Ramaswami. But it is necessary to recognise that Travancoreans have not only to reckon with the Maharaja, but also with his Diwan. I also observe that several Travancorean critics have asserted that suspension has led to greater repression. These critics do not know that suspension was not advised in order to avoid repression, nor even in expectation of its being stopped.

It was advised in order to avoid popular violence, no matter how caused or by whom instigated, if it was instigated. It was also stopped in order to avoid brutalisation of human nature. These two objects may be said to have been attained in a fair measure. It was also suspended, in order to pave the way for an honourable understanding with the authorities and to educate the people in the true way of *ahimsa*. These objects have still to be worked for. Here my new light, which I seem to see dimly, enables me to tender advice which, but for the light, I would perhaps not have been able to give with as much confidence as now.

I am convinced that direct negotiations should be opened with the authorities. Hitherto, the State Congress people have talked at the authorities and the latter at them. The result has been a widening of the gulf between

the two. It would not do for a *satyagrahi* to argue that the approach must be mutual. That assumes the existence of the spirit of *satyagraha* in the authorities whereas *satyagraha* is offered in respect of those who make no claim to be *satyagrahis*.

Hence, the first and the last work of a *satyagrahi* is ever to seek an opportunity for an honourable approach. Now this is impossible so long as the heart is steeled against a belief even in the possibility let alone advisability, of such approach, and hitherto, the impossibility has been unquestionably assumed.

I have been a tacit party to it. I now know better. If the leaders have active "*ahimsa*" in them, they must cultivate a belief in the perfect possibility and necessity of such approach. And if they have that belief the way will surely be open to them. In my own person, it is well known. I have always acted on that principle. In making such an approach, it would be necessary to lower the key of our note. Our aim must remain what it is, but we must be prepared to negotiate for less than the whole, so long it is unmistakably of the same kind, and has in it inherent possibility of expansion.

I have found that nowhere, with the only exception of Aundh, and the princes ready to part with all the power in favour of the people. Nor is the paramount power anxious for the people in the States to receive full responsible Government. If I interpret its mind correctly, assuming that an institution can have a mind, it would be sorry in any state of importance copied the example of Aundh. But what is most important of all. the States' people themselves as a mass are nowhere prepared to pay the price. There is no mistaking the awakening that has taken place in the States. But it is not enough for the great purpose to be attained.

It will be well to recognise this fact. In aiming beyond our capacity, we are likely to lose all. I would give much to have in all the States a reign of law, instead of the reign of a person or persons, however well-meaning they may be.

I can then see my way to build up responsible Government on that solid foundation. But responsible Government, which is only a gift without the will and the power of the people behind it will be a mere paper responsibility, hardly worth the paper on which it may be printed.

The second object of suspension is closely related to the foregoing if it is a fact that the atmosphere for immediate responsible Government among the States is not propitious and that the people are not ready to pay the price, it follows that they should have the proper training for it. I am not likely, lightly and in the near future, to advise mass *satyagraha* anywhere. There is neither adequate training nor discipline among the people.

I have not the shadow of a doubt that the people at large should pass one or more positive tests. Mere abstention from physical violence will not answer our purpose. In the centre of this programme of positive tests, I unhesitatingly put the spinning wheel and all it means. If there is quick response, this can be a short course. But it may well be a long course, if the people do not make enthusiastic response. I know no other programme than the four-fold constructive programme of 1920. If the people do not take it up whole-heartedly, it is proof enough for me that they have no

ahimsa in them, or not the *ahimsa* of my conception or say they have no confidence in the present leadership. For me, there is no other test but that I have ever put before the nation since 1920. The new light tells me that I must not weaken as I have done before in exacting the discipline, I have mentioned. I can quite clearly see my way to advise civil disobedience, whenever the conditions mentioned are amply fulfilled.

That civil disobedience will be individual, but in terms of *ahimsa*, far more effective than any mass civil disobedience of the past.

I must own that the past movements have been more or less tainted. I have no regret for them. For I knew no better then. I had the sense and humility to retrace my steps, whenever I discovered blunders. Hence the nation has gone forward from step to step. But the time has come for a radical change in the direction indicated.

Thus my opinion on Travancore had resolved itself in the enunciation of my present mental condition and its reaction on the Travancore situation.

To sum up (1) Suspension of mass civil disobedience should be indefinite. (2) There should be the will among the State Congress people to open a way to honourable negotiations with the authorities. (3) There should be no anxiety about those *satyagrahis* who are in prison or new ones. If the spirit of *satyagraha* is rightly assimilated, these imprisonments and disabilities should hearten the people. (4) The pitch of the immediate demands should be lowered, if necessary in order to quicken the progress towards the final goal. (5) The condition precedent to any civil disobedience is the fulfilment by the general mass of the constructive programme as a test, if nothing more, of their coming under the discipline of the State Congress.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that it is open to the workers to reject my advice. They should adopt it, only if it appeals to their heads and their hearts and tallies with their own reading of the local situation, of which I own they must be better judges.—A.P.

Page 6, Para 5(a).

Wardha, 31st December 1938.—Mahatma Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of the museum of the All India Village Industries Association at Maganwadi, Wardha, on the 30th December, in the presence of about 1,000 persons.

Pages 577, Para (11), Wardha.

On the 11th October, a meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India States Peoples' Conference was held at Wardha attended by Mahatma Gandhi and the Premiers and Ministers of Congress provinces. The Standing Committee issued a statement on the conditions prevailing in the States, the policy of the rulers and their repression, etc.

Page 173, Para 551.

In the *Harijan* of May 18th a correspondent asks whether Congressmen who explain the Ramgarh resolution on the subject of non-co-operation in the prosecution of the war will not be offending the provisions of the Defence of India Act. M. K. Gandhi's reply is of interest and is reproduced below.

"I am not quite sure that you will commit an offence against the Defence of India Act merely by explaining the resolution to the people. But you can easily put yourself under it by adding 'ginger' to your explanation and delivering a first class harangue against British rule. In your place

I would not do it. Sufficient education has been given to the people as to what British rule is. But you should lay stress on what the people have to do to get out of foreign rule. Therefore everything depends upon how you say it. You will offend against my instructions when you disobey explicit orders served upon you."

Page 289, Para 922.

CONGRESS ACTIVITIES

Poona, 21st September 1940.—The most important event in connection with Congress activities was the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay City on September 15th and 16th. This was preceded by a number of meetings of a formal or informal nature and Congress leaders had a surfeit of discussions and speech making. In the few days prior to the A.I.C.C. meeting 16 public meetings were addressed by leading Congressmen, the attendances ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 at seven of these meetings. After the preliminary meetings of the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. met and passed a somewhat enigmatical resolution which, together with Gandhi's speech has been reported in full in the press. The most important outcome of the A.I.C.C. meeting is that Gandhi has resumed active control of the Congress.

Page 333, Para 1061.

Poona, 2nd November 1940.—Following the receipt of instructions to submit articles regarding Vinoba Bhave's arrest for scrutiny prior to publication, M. K. Gandhi has announced the temporary suspension of the *Harijan*, *Harijan Bandhu* and the *Harijan Sevak*.

Page 5-6, Para 4(b).

Wardha, 23rd December 1939.—On the 18th and 19th meetings in connection with the election to the local board were held at Sindhi. Dr. Moreswar Ramchandra Cholkar advised the public to vote for the Congress candidate. Amrit Harbaji Kotamkar spoke against the Congress and exhorted his audience to vote for the rival candidate.

A meetings of Gandhi Sewa Sangh was held at Wardha and was attended by Mahatma Gandhi. Popularising of *khadi* and making the *khadi* industry self-supporting were discussed.

The All-India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from the 19th to 22nd December. The following attended:—

1. Babu Rajendraprasad.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Jawaharlal Nehru.
4. Bhulabhai Desai.
5. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
6. Jairamdas Daulatram.
7. Shankar Dattatraya Deo.
8. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
9. Abul Kalam Azad.
10. Bidhanchandra Roy.
11. Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani.
12. Dr. Prafullachandra Ghosh.
13. Harekrishna Mehtab.

Mahatma Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachariar attended by invitation.

Page 5-6, Para 4(b).

Wardha, 1st January 1940.—On the 27th December. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a special meeting of the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee on *khadi*. Resolutions were passed regarding the observance of "Independence Day" wearing and spinning of *khadi* and holding of Congress *Sainik Dal* camps in taluqs.

Page 23-24, Para, 21(b).

POLITICAL SITUATION

Wardha, 5th January 1940.—On the 28th December, Mahatma Gandhi, addressed the members of the Congress *Sainik Dal*, styled as Nagpur Provincial Congress Workers, on *khadi*, non-violence and spinning. His advice on picketing of liquor shops was that there should be only persuasion to the contractors and the addicts to give up selling and drinking liquor. On the 29th Shankar Trimbak Dharmadhikari of Wardha, also addressed the members on unity and Hindu-Muslim differences which, he said, were coming in the way of *swaraj*.

On the 31st, all the members of the camp went to Shegaon where Mahatma Gandhi delivered a short speech on *khadi*, non-violence and Hindu-Muslim unity which, he said, was so essential for the success of the Congress. The same day J. C. Kumarappa addressed the members on the importance of cottage industries and advised them to purchase home-made articles only.

The camp broke up on the 1st. Babu Rajendra Prasad addressed the members and advised them to start such *Sainik Dals* in their villages and impart training to others and to encourage spinning and other Congress activities. He asked them to prepare for the coming struggle for independence.

Daily routine work in the camp included scavenging in Harijan quarters, spinning and lectures on non-violence and discipline. One hundred and twenty-five persons attended the camp and of these 75 were from Waidha district. Page 46-47, Para 48(a).

POLITICAL SITUATION

S.B.C.P., 24th January 1940.—The Working Committee met at Wardha from the 19th to 22nd January. The following attended:—

1. Dr. Rajendraprasad.
2. Bhulabhai Desai.
3. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
4. Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy.
5. Dr. Prafullachandra Ghosh.
6. Harekrishna Mehtab.
7. Jawaharlal Nehru.
8. Shankar Dattatraya Deo.
9. Vallabhbhai Patel.
10. Abul Kalam Azad.
11. Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani.

C. Rajagopalchariar and Mahatma Gandhi attended by invitation Following resolutions were passed:—

1. Fixing the programme of the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress as under: Working Committee meeting 14th to 16th March. All-India Congress Committee and Subjects Committee meetings— 17th to 19th March, Open session 19th to 21st March,

2. Approving of the action of the President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, in regard to the conduct of Congress elections in the province.

3. Permitting opponents of the *charkha* clause in the Independence Day pledge to abstain from repeating it at meetings on the 26th January.

4. Authorising the president to issue a statement on Bengal Provincial Congress Committee dispute after interviewing the deputation led by Sarat Chandra Bose.

It is understood that the Working Committee decided that Mahatma Gandhi should seek further clarification of certain points contained in H.E. the Viceroy's recent speech at Bombay with a view to end the political impasse.

Page 170, Para 183(b).

Wardha, 7 th April 1940.—A *khadi* fair was held on the 30th and 31st March at Sewagram. Mahatma Gandhi spoke on both days and advised adherence to his *khadi* programme.

National week was inaugurated on the 6th April by a flag hoisting ceremony in the presence of 30 persons. Dattatraya Balkrishna Kaielkar, who officiated at the ceremony, averred that Hindu-Muslim unity was not possible yet as the Muslims were bent upon taking undue advantage of Congress leniency.

Page 196-197, Para 210(a).

POLITICAL SITUATION

S.B., C.P., 24th April 1940.—The All India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from the 15th to the 18th April.

The following members and invitees attended:—

1. Abul Kalam Azad.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru.
3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
4. Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani.
5. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
6. Vallabhbhai Patel.
7. Bhulabhai Desai.
8. Shankar Dattatraya Deo.
9. C. Rajagopalachariar.
10. Dr. Prafullachandra Ghosh.
11. Asaf Ali.
12. Dr. Syed Mahmood. Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit.
13. Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya.
14. T. Prakasham.
15. Narendradev.
16. Achyut Sitaram Patwardhan.
17. Harekrishna Mehtab.

Mahatma Gandhi also attended the session. Amongst others, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. Welcoming the steps taken by Provincial Congress Committee, in pursuance of the directions issued by Mahatma Gandhi, to function as *satyagraha* committees and to enrol active and passive *satyagrahis* and recommending the withdrawal from executive positions of those members of Congress Committees, who are unable to take the prescribed pledge and shoulder the burden of a struggle under the discipline and guidance of the Congress.

2. Appointing R. S. Pandit to enquire into the present conditions of Congress volunteer organisations in the various provinces with the view of encouraging the movement and ensuring uniformity of working.

3. Appointing a sub-committee, consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani to go into the question of election of delegates from Indian States.

4. Appointing Shankarrao Deo to enquire into irregularities during elections in Mahakoshal.

5. Deciding to establish a women's department of the Congress in charge of a leading woman worker under the general supervision of the President and General Secretary.

Page 300-301, Para 302(a).

S.B., C.P. 26th June 1940.—the All India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from the 17th to 21st June. All members were present except Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. Mahatma Gandhi also took part in the deliberations. C. Rajagopalachariar of Madras, Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of Allahabad, Dr. Pattabhi Sita-ramayya of Madras, Narendradeo of Bihar, and Achyut Sitaram Patwar-dhan of Ahmednagar were present by invitation. The discussion on the question of forming National Government in the provinces during the present emergency was inconclusive.

A resolution was passed.

Agreeing with the recommendations of R. S. Pandit contained in his interim report on Congress volunteer organisations, suggesting that Provincial Congress Committee should encourage and promote the growth of trained volunteers for national service and appointing a volunteer committee with R. S. Pandit as secretary and Vallabhbhai Patel, Rao Sahib Patwardhan, Iftikaruddin and a representative of the Khudai Khitmadgar as members.

Instead of a resolution on the present political situation, the Committee issued a lengthy statement, which has received wide publicity in the press.

The more important points in the statement are:

(1) Since the commencement of the war, the Congress has followed a policy, which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was confirmed in the Ramgarh resolution. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. The problems which were distant, are now near at hand and may soon demand solution.

(2) While adhering strictly to the principles of non-violence in their struggle for independence the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human element they have to deal with and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people inadequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised non-violence.

The Committee has come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length of non-violence with Mahatma Gandhi and, therefore, absolve him from responsibility from the programme and the activity which the Congress has to pursue under conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

(3) Dissuading Congressmen from participating in war committees, from contributing to war funds or from associating themselves under present political conditions with Government, control Civic Guards and advising Congress Committees to organise on a non-communal basis, people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in co-operation with other groups interested in the task.

Page 400-401, Para 399(a).

S.B., C.P., 28th August 1940.—The All India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from the 18th to 23rd August

The following members attended:—

- (1) Abul Kalam Azad.
- (2) Vallabhbhai Patel.
- (3) Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (4) Bhulabhai Desai.
- (5) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
- (6) Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
- (7) Jamnalal Bajaj.
- (8) Govind Vallabh Pant.
- (9) Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani.
- (10) Shankar Dattatraya Deo.
- (11) Dr. Prafulla Ghosh.
- (12) Dr. Asaf Ali.
- (13) Dr. Syed Mahmud.
- (14) C. Rajgopalachariar.

Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Maulana Hussein Ahmed attended by invitation. The following resolutions were passed:—

1. (a) Affirming that the proposals contained in H.E. the Viceroy's state ment of August 8th and the Secretary of State for India's speech in the House of Commons on August 14th are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy acclaimed by the British Government in their war aims, but also opposed to the best interests of India and, therefore, unacceptable to the Congress.

(b) Considering that these declarations and offers not only fall far short of the Congress demand, but would prove an impediment in the way of the evolution of a free and united India, and calling upon the people to condemn the attitude of the British Government by holding public meetings and by other means, and also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures.

(c) Declaring that the Government of India communique regarding volunteer organisations was too vaguely worded and liable to abuse in its application, agreeing that private armies organised for furthering political or communal ends should be suppressed, and pointing out that there was no analogy between such armies and Congress volunteers, who were meant to promote communal harmony, to preserve order at meetings and labour in the service of the nation and whose uniform was distinct from military and police uniforms.

2. In view of the gravity of the situation created by Government's policy in arresting Congress workers under the Defence of India Act, deciding to

convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee on the 15th September, and calling upon all Congress organisations to carry on their activities with vigour and *satyagraha* committees to see that *satyagrahis* act in terms of the pledge taken by them and carry on the constructive and other activities of the Congress.

Page 145, Para 471.

During the week under review the number of Congress propaganda meetings increased to 26, but 15 of the meetings were attended by fewer than 100 persons.

The following facts suggest that the Congress organisation is diverting its energies and the attention of the public from *satyagraha* to the constructive programme. Constructive work committees have been established at Poona and Saswad in the Poona district and at Pen in the Kolaba district. The President of the Ahmedabad Gandhi Seva Sangh asked the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee at a private meeting to select as *satyagrahis* only those who can spin, wear *khaddar* and are prepared to do constructive work in the villages. On a list of over 1,000 names submitted by the Maharashtra P.C.C., Gandhi approved of less than 200 as *satyagrahis*. It is stated that Gandhi will require intending *satyagrahis* to qualify by a period of approved service on constructive work. Gujarat newspapers announce that *satyagraha* in Gujarat has been suspended for a period of 2 months and that *satyagrahis* should live in villages, strive for communal unity and popularise *khaddar*. The President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee left Bombay on May 13th to consult Gandhi regarding renewing the *satyagraha* movement which has been suspended in the city owing to the riots. It is reported that Gandhi refused permission to do so.

Nagpur, 12th April 1941.—Mukundilal Sircar met Gandhi at Sewagram on the 27th March. It is understood that they discussed the present political situation with special reference to the Non-party Leaders' meeting in Bombay and Congress Forward Block differences. Gandhi stated that it was not possible to co-operate with the Forward Block because of fundamental differences, *i.e.*, because the Forward Block leaders did not believe in nonviolence and the *charkha*. Co-operation would only be possible if the Forward Block declared itself an independent party. The Forward Block opinion is that Gandhi is afraid to co-operate with a party which wants real power for the masses which would give a final blow to vested interests.

Page 295, Para 317.

Wardha, 31st May 1941.—A two weeks' training camp was opened by the Rashtriya Yuwak Sangh in the Commerce College, Wardha, on the 23rd May, and was closed under the presidentship of Gandhi at a meeting of 200. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi said that the main problem before the youths of the country was their position in politics. Retaliation was the admitted way of the world but the Congress had been preaching nonviolence. If Congress men struck in return, they failed, in their test and if they ran away from danger they failed. They must learn either to die gallantly or to defend themselves and their neighbours non-violently. To flee was cowardice and to retaliate like others was to disgrace Congress. Damodar Das Mundra stated that there were 21 branches of the organisation and 1,000 members. The boys were taught first aid, physical labour and spinning. Sbankar Trimbak Adhikari said that the organisation's aim was to instill the masses with nationalism.

Page 343, Para 367(b), Wardha.

The executive committee of the All India Spinners' Association met at Wardha on the 20th to 22nd instant and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi presided. The committee discussed the budget for the coming year and also the opening of Khadi Vidyalaya at Sewagram. The meeting was attended by Dr. V. V. Jai Rajni of Bombay, Laxmi Purshottam Asar of Ahmedabad, Pandit Gopal Bandhu Chaudhari of Howrah, Dr. Satischandra Gupta of Calcutta and others.

Page 353, Para 382(b) 5th July 1941.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi observed a fast on the 30th June in order to meditate over a letter sent by a Muhammadan of Bombay regarding communal riots in Bombay.

A meeting of the workers of the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee took place at Sewagram on the 25th June. It was attended by Chaturbhuj-bhai Jasani, Gopal Narhar Kale, Bajrang Lahanu Thekedar, Bhikhulal Chandak and Maruti Sambha Kannamwar. They took stock of the progress of *satyagraha* in the province and Gandhi laid stress of the necessity of constructive work and especially communal harmony. Gandhi wanted to send men of better calibre.

K. M. Munshi of Bombay had a discussion with Gandhi and resigned from the Congress as he disagreed with Gandhi's view of non-violence.

Page 503-504, Para 453(b), Wardha, 9th August 1941.

The opening ceremony of the Sewagram Khadi Vidyalaya was performed at Sewagram on the 1st August and was attended by 200 persons. Provision has been made to train 25 students, and 18 students from all parts of India have so far come to Sewagram. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi said that the science of spinning and weaving would be taught. He added that destructive tendencies were prevalent in the West and Hitler was the outcome of them. It was difficult to face him and difficult to say whom and how many he would kill. He went on to talk of their protest against machinery and the *charkha*.

A propaganda meeting of 600 was held at Ashti on the 5th in support of the constructive programme. Speakers said that 73 lakhs yards of hand-spun yarn would be offered to Gandhi on his birthday.

Page 626, Para 600(b).

Wardha, 18th October 1941.—Nine *satyagrahis* returned from the border were inactive.

The presidents of the Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee, Nagpur, Provincial Congress Committee and Berar Provincial Congress Committee presented Gandhi with three crores of yards of hand spun yarn and Rs. 12,000. Gandhi made a short speech before the *ashramites* and Poonamchand Ranka, Raghunath Singh Killedar, Ganesh Ramrao Kulkarni and Dr. Gopalrao Bajirao Khedkar were also present. He reiterated his faith in *khadi* to achieve *swaraj* and explained that by *swarajya* he meant happiness of the masses who must have a house to live in, and enough food and clothes to wear. He added that every yard of yarn had brought *swaraj* nearer and expressed satisfaction with the way in which the *satyagraha* movement was progressing. The people wanted a mass movement but the time for such a movement had not yet come and he did not want to embarrass the Government at the

time of its life and death struggle. He further said that he would be content with only a handful of *satyagrahis* who would repeat the performance. He concluded by saying that the donation presented to him would be used for the purpose of *khaddar*.

Page 673, Para 661(b).

Wardha, 15th November 1941.—On the 12th November, a meeting of the State People's Standing Committee was held at the bungalow of Jamnalal Bajaj. Dr. Menon and M. K. Gandhi attended.

Page 173, Para 485.

In Bombay city, the P. V. B. sponsored a procession in which 100 persons participated. On his arrival in Bombay on May 10th to collect funds for the Andrews Memorial, M. K. Gandhi was received by some 300 persons.

Page 271, Para 770.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad presided over the Congress Working Meeting which met at Birla House, Bombay, on August 4th, 5th and 6th to consider the Wardha resolution and other non-official resolutions. M. K. Gandhi participated in the deliberations which culminated in the adoption of a resolution for the acceptance of the A.I.C.C. The full text of the resolution has received the maximum publicity. It was on the expected lines and concluded with the threat of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale.

The A.I.C.C. session commenced on August 7th under the presidentship of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. About ten thousand persons including 250 A.I.C.C. members crowded into the pandal which has been specially erected and some five thousand overflowed outside. Some three thousand volunteers of the Bombay National Guards, the Bombay Seva Dal and the V. P. B. were employed to keep order.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad opened the proceedings with a review of the war situation and the Working Committee's resolution. M. K. Gandhi then addressed the members of the A.I.C.C. in Hindi and piously warned them against supporting the resolution unless they had complete faith in him and realised the responsibility they were incurring. The Congress could recognise no distinction between the "Indian India" of the Native States and British India as it felt that the people of the States were at one with Congress. Gandhi declared that God had presented him with this opportunity and if he did not seize it he would lose himself. He characterised himself as presenting to them the *pros* and *cons* of the whole situation in the manner of businessman and if they were prepared to pay the full price then only should they adopt the resolution placed before them.

Pandit Nehru then moved the main resolution and affirmed that if their demands were accepted by the British Government the internal and international situation would be revolutionised and China would receive assistance. He bitterly criticised the British Administration and the attitude of England and America towards the resolution. He concluded with a declaration that he did not believe in Dominion Status or any other status, but wanted only unadulterated freedom.

V. J. Patel supported the resolution in a speech which described the Cripps Mission as a clear indication of Britain's determination to retain her hold on India. Under these circumstances the Working Committee was

forced to adopt this resolution and now to appeal for implicit faith in the leadership of Gandhi. In the event of the Mahatma and other leaders being arrested, every man and woman in India must adopt the initiative and carry on the struggle.

The proceedings on August 8th were marked by several amendments both from Congressmen and communists. Dr. K. M. Ashraf, Sajjad Zahir and S. G. Sardesai moved amendments which were criticised by Congress speakers notably A. S. Patwardhan, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, T. Prakasam and Pandit Nekiram. As was expected the amendments were given short shift and Pandit Nehru himself applied the *coup de grace* in the speech which underlined the fallacies of the Communist demand for Hindu-Muslim unity. Those amendments which were not withdrawn secured only 12 votes and the main resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members voting against it.

M. K. Gandhi wound up the proceedings with a lengthy speech in which he touched on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity and issued very vague instructions regarding the conduct of the coming movement. In conclusion the president reminded his audience that the passing of the resolution had only initiated the campaign and that the people themselves must carry it to a successful termination.

Page 276, Para 782.

The week under review witnessed an almost unprecedented series of disturbances following the resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay. As an immediate sequel of this resolution M. K. Gandhi and all the members of the Working Committee including the president were arrested under orders of Government (9th August).

Page 279, Para 784.

A booklet entitled *Quit India* by M. K. Gandhi printed at the Associated Advertisers and Printers Ltd., Bombay and compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, edited by Yusuf J. Meherally and published by Padma Publication, Bombay, has come to notice.

Mahatmaji's Parting Message.

Every man is free to go to the fullest length under *ahimsa*, complete deadlock by strikes and all other possible non-violent means.

Satyagrahis should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the Nation will survive.

Do or die

Programme.

1. *Hartal* for at least three days.
2. Salt *satyagraha*.
3. Cutting of communication of all sorts.
4. Strikes and all sorts of dead lock in the strikest rench.
5. Asking military to come out.
6. Quit India slogan.

Mahatmaji's Parting Message.

On the 20th August 1942, two manuscript sheets said to be emanating from Gandhiji, were detained from a passenger *en route* to Khorramshah by Assistant Collector of Customs, Preventive Department, Bombay. These manuscript sheets were entitled "Mahatmaji's Parting Message" and are found to contain almost the same language and instructions as contained in

then current one circular purporting to be Gandhiji's last message said to be given by him on his arrest on 9th August 1942. A copy of the 'Mahatmaji's Parting Message' as traced in Bombay Police Commissioner's office File No. 3001/H/IX of 1942 is given below:—

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO FREE

INDIA India is Independent

Every man is free to go to the fullest length under *ahimsa*, complete deadlock by strikes and other possible non-violent means.

Karengye ya marengye—Do or die.

The ways to implement this.

1. Acknowledge no authority save that of the people.
2. All factories, mills, colleges, markets etc. must remain closed till freedom is won.
3. Do not co-operate with the government.
4. Persuade Police to disobey Government orders.
5. Destroy telephone and telegraph connections.
6. Dislocate Government meetings.
7. Dislocate tram and bus services.
8. Picket Government officers and do not allow the Government machinery to function at any cost.
9. Circulate by all possible means such as, wall writing mouth to mouth propoganda, hand written leaflets etc. news regarding the uprising of the people in any part of the country against the Government.
10. Capture the college premises and take charge of the college admini stration and keep them closed, till the British withdraw.

Vande Matram

Transcription of a speech delivered by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in English at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay on the second day (8th August 1942).

"And now, friends, I have taken such an inordinately long time over pouring out what was agitating in my soul to those who have just now given me the privilege of serving them. I have been called their ' leader' or in military language ' commander but I do not look at my position in that light. I have no weapon except love to wield my authority over any one and I have got a stick. If you handle it you will break it into pieces in no time. I do not keep a stick made of steel; it simply is my staff, with the help of which I walk. Such a cripple has been elected their leader. He is not elated. He knows that he has to bear the greatest burden. They can share that burden with me and lighten it; but they will only share that burden with me if I always appear to them not as their commander not as their controller but as their humble servant, and he who serves best becomes chief among equals. So I am the chief servant of the Nation. That is how you can look at me.

"Therefore, I was bound to share such thoughts as were welling up in my breast and tell you in as summary a manner as I can as to what I expect you to do as a first step.

"The real struggle does not commence today. I have to go through much ceremonial as I always do, but this time much more so, because the burden is almost unbearable and I have got to continue to reason in

those circles with whom I have lost the credit that I have enjoyed. I know that in the course of the last few weeks, I have forfeited the credit of a large number of friends and so much so that they now have begun to doubt my wisdom and some even have begun to doubt my honesty. Now, I hold, my wisdom is not such a treasure which I cannot afford to lose— if I had any—but my honesty is a precious treasure. It pains me that I have lost that credit only for the time being but it is only, I know for certain, for the time being. Such occasions arise in the life of a man who is a pure seeker after truth and who wants to serve humanity or his country to the best of his lights without fraud—without falsehood—without any hypocrisy. It is not an easy thing to do. But for the last 50 years—still longer— I have known no other way and I have been a servant of humanity also and for a long time a sincere servant of the Empire. And let me say, without fear of any kind, that never in my career, have I asked of any British Governor, or a Collector or a petty official, any personal favour. I have enjoyed the greatest privilege of their friendship also and I enjoyed the privilege of friendship with Lord Linlithgow.

"It is a friendship which has outgrown official relations. I enjoyed friendship with previous Viceroys also but it never went beyond the official relations. But as we talked about so many things, as we met each other so often, I feel Lord Linlithgow will be able to bear me out or not I do not know personally, I have felt that there is a personal bond sprung up between me and himself. Later this no secret and if it is a secret it is a good thing that I am letting the secret out, he introduced me to his daughter and son-in-law. He was still not married. He was his *aide-de-camp*. But the engagement was made. He was drawn towards me. He fell in love with Mahadev Desai more than with me. Once he came to see me. So when he asked for permission, permission was granted. I was quite willing to see him in the Viceregal Lodge. He said; " I want to come and see how you live ". She too came. I tell you she is an obedient daughter, she is a clever daughter of Lord Linlithgow I may tell you I take personal interest in their welfare. So far as my side is concerned there is a personal bond between him and me. That personal bond will never interfere in offering this stubborn resistance to him if I find that is my unfortunate lot which I would shirk if I possibly could but it seems to me now that I will not be able to shirk that duty of resisting the might of the Empire with the might of the whole of the dump millions, without any reservation put upon them except the inexorable bond of nonviolence as a policy confirmed only to this struggle.

" So it is a terrible job that I have to face to offer resistance to a Viceroy with whom I enjoyed such personal relations. I must also confess to you that he had more than once simply trusted my words. He had warned me also that "I tell you my opinion is that such and such a person is not trustworthy". So I said: "You lay such a sort of trust. Since you trust my honesty and my non-violence, you must trust this word of mine." I am going to put that trust in you. It is a good illustration. I love to repeat that because it stands to his credit. There are many things that will stand to his discredit. But I mention this thing with great pride and great pleasure as an earnest of my desire not to be untrue to the British Nation.

"Then there is another thing. At the present moment the spirit of Andrews is speaking to me and Andrews sums up the highest that I have seen in the English. With Andrews I enjoyed the relationship closer

than which I have enjoyed with any Indian. There was no secret between us. We exchanged our hearts every day. Whatever was in his heart he would blurt out without the slightest hesitation and reservation. It is true he was a pupil of Gurudeo but he looked upon Gurudeo with awe. When he went in his presence, Andrews was a different man not that Gurudeo wanted that thing but Andrews had that big humiliation. But with me, the first time that we met together, some how or other, we became fast friends. I had never seen him before never known him before. He brought a note of introduction from Gokhale. He and Pierson may be defined as the first specimens of Englishmen that I have come across many fine specimens. With whom, I must tell you that I have that spirit listening to me and he knows my heart. Then I got somewhat unsolicited and warm congratulations from the metropolitan of Calcutta. He has given me his unconditional blessing undeserved. I have not got the letter. You need not read the language. You won't understand that language also. I hold him to be a man of God. Frankly, in this case he is opposed to me. He thinks I am going wrong, but he will see whom I have to tell that he is wrong. He simply tells me that my sincere prayers are with you and that it is good sound English language which I can understand fully with him.

“With all this background, I want to declare to the world that whatever may be said today to the contrary and although I have forfeited the regard of many friends of the West even trust of some of the friends. I must bow my headlow—even for their friendship and for their love, I must not suppress the voice within. Call it conscience call it by anything you like call it promptings of my inner basic nature—another word for conscience. I do not mind how you describe it. But there is something there which a man who has known anything of humanity—human life—who has tried to study the psychology I have not read any books on psychology but I have learnt sufficiently after having lived amongst them so such a man knows exactly what that is, although he may not be able to describe it. That something in me tells me that you have got to stand against the whole world because God is wishing and you are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have blood shot eye?;. Do not fear that world. Go ahead. You live in fear of God. Just trust that little thing that resides in your heart. That thing within me tells me that you have to forsake friends, forsake wife, forsake brothers, forsake everything. You live to testify to that which you have seen in the heart. I want to live. I want to live full span of my life and according to me, the full span of life is 120. By that time, India will not only be free but the whole world will be free. Today, I do not believe that Englishmen are free—I do not believe that Americans are free. Yes, they are free. After their own meaning they are free. They are free to do what? To hold other part of humanity in bondage the coloured racesf the Asiatic races, Africans. They hold them in bondage. Are they fighting for their liberty? And if they are fighting for their liberty that is their declaration then I submit to- that declaration. Do not ask me to examine you after the war issues. I know what freedom is. Your teachers have taught me what that freedom is. I must interpret that freedom according to what I have seen, according to what T have experienced, and those English teachers or French teachers who have written so much about freedom, written magnificent poetry they have never said there that you shall put this interpretation and no more. You shall not broaden the interpretation of this. I tell you I hereby testify,

that this is not a language of philosophy but this is a language of experience. For they are strangers. If they want to know real freedom, they have got to come to India. I am not arrogant. I am not a proud man. I know the distinction between pride, arrogance, insolence and so on. But what I am saying is, I believe, the voice of God. It is the fundamental truth that I am telling you.

For 22 years I must not forget my predecessors unconsciously the Congress, from its very foundation, has been building upon non-violence constitutionally. Dadabhai Nowroji and Pherozshah Mehta became rebels. All the other distinguished men who have held the Congress high and who have held India-Congress India in the palm of their hands without any distinction of race or creed or colour they were not creatures of the Congress, they were lovers of the Congress—masters of the Congress. They called themselves servants of the Congress. It is to their credit. They were servants and real servants of the Congress according to their task of life. I am talking of the Congress. I am talking of the Congress Party, I am not talking of individual Congressman. Today I do not claim that every Congressman is really conforming to non-violence even as a policy. I know that there are many black sheep. But I am trusting the whole of India without subjecting the whole of India to any examination. Because this fundamental principle is ruling my life. If I find that my trust is misplaced, I will not flinch. I shall dance with joy and say that the lesson was not learnt; I must go on with my fight. I must try my fight 50 times. But I shall stand the test I hope. Therefore, I claim that from its very inception, unconsciously the Congress has based its fundamental policy on peaceful methods which was to bring *swaraj* and which had been given today added to it by generations that followed and marched much more—as Dadabhai, himself taught us. At first he used to talk of so many things but he learnt by bitter experience. In the House of Commons he was dubbed by Lord Salisbury as a blackman. Thanks to the English electors for electing Dadabhai Nowroji yes, by a narrow majority of votes. Dadabhai Nowroji entered their Parliament by the votes of their own people. It was a mighty thing. I don't want to be a Member of Parliament. I have gone beyond that philosophy but at that time it was a grand thing I know I was there at the time. India had that lesson given to her and also to the world. Have you forgotten these things. If you have forgotten I am here to testify. If anybody wishes to examine the Congress history, he will find more than ample proof in support of what I am saying.

So, with that background, I want Englishmen, Europeans and all the United Nations to examine their hearts and search their hearts what crime has the Congress committed in demanding independence today. I ask is it right for you now to distrust such an organisation with all its background, tradition and record of over half a century and mislead its endeavours all over the world by every means at your commands as the pucker's letter has given you that demonstration. Is it right to distrust that organisation so that by hook or by crook Englishmen should misrepresent India's struggle and now, aided by the foreign press I hope they won't do it even aided by the President of the United States and may be I do not think it is possible—but aided by the Generallissimo of China, who has yet to win his laurels and fighting desperate battles—after having owned Jawaharlal Nehru as their comrade. Having showered all their affections on him he won't do it. I have met Generallissimo. I fell in love with Madame Chiang-kai-Shek. She was my interpreter and I have no doubt—no reason

to doubt—she was a faithful interpreter to her husband. I tell you that he was inscrutable but not the face of Madame and he allowed me to read his mind through his interpreter. It was a glorious thing and therefore I fell in love with her and she felt in love with me.

I know I regard I have great regard for British diplomacy. If they were not supreme diplomats they would not have ruled the Empire. The time for that diplomacy is gone. You know what that diplomacy is. It stinks in my nostrils. Others are learning, their lessons at their feet and their diplomacy may the world opinion on their side but I say India will stand against that world opinion. I can speak for myself. You will redeem that word that even if the whole of India forsook me, I will say: you are wrong you must make India free. She will take her—seize her liberty from unwilling hands by non-violence but after my eyes are closed I do not know whether it will be non-violence that will run through Indian mind or whether it will be violence that will run because I would have lost the battle—if my eyes closed and there is no freedom for India. Therefore, they will be rendering the greatest dis-service to themselves, they will be rendering a mortal blow to China and a mortal blow to Russia, if they do not give to India its fundamental thing today. India, which is pledged to non-violence, India which is pleading with bended knees for the discharge of a debt which is over, due, is saying: For Heaven's sake give me this thing. Does a creditor wait to see whether the debtor is taking his last breath, he will go, take his last breath and take the money from him also. Not so India today. Even when India is met with such angry opposition, India says: we won't hit below the belt. We have to acquire progress in the real gentlemanly fashion. Therefore, we will not stop to such a thing. But today if you find that I was the author of non-embarrassment and now embarking upon a policy of embarrassment, it would be wrong to say so. You will find that with a qualifying phrase 'consistently, with the honour and safety of the Nation'. I cannot possibly say to a man 'No' who holds me by the neck. He may continue to hold me by the neck. But when I am drowning them my effort to get out of his clutches so that I may not be drowned—that I do not call by the word 'embarrassment'—in which case, I use it for the first time. There is no inconsistency today between what I am demanding today and what the Congress demanded before.

I have said sufficiently to the foreign press and through the foreign press to the whole world that the world has an opportunity or rather let me restrict myself—that the United Powers which simply say that they have need for India. I say to them that they will miss an opportunity of a life time which never occurs twice in the same generation and history will record that if they lost the battle, it would be because they did not discharge their obligation to India. I therefore ask for the belated discharge of that obligation and I ask for the blessings of the whole world and I want the active assistance of these United Powers. I do not want to presage anything to impair the harmony of the message that I have uttered but lest I may not be understood, I do not want the United Powers troops to disarm. I do not want the United Powers to go beyond their obvious limitations. There is difference between Fascism and Democracies in spite of their many limitations. I have somehow or other thought that there is a fundamental distinction between Fascism and even this Imperialism which I am fighting. But the acid test is now when India itself is held in bondage. Of course they are able to say: we are getting all the assistance we want, But what will they say? From free India? They

won't possibly say. They will have to say India which we today hold in bondage but as soon as we have taken all that we want from India we shall make India free. It will taste that freedom. But we want that freedom now. That freedom will have no taste left in it, if today if you have got the power to assist—United Powers—to the best of your ability— that today that ability cannot be exercised. It is not a mechanical effort, it is an effort which is to come naturally which a man feels. I cannot make you feel that effort although you may call me as Mahatma or any other name which you may like to choose. It is an impossible task for me. But what seems impossible for me today will become possible tomorrow immediately when India scents and feels and can touch the freedom for which she wants to live. If that freedom now comes she will coin that freedom into success for China; the road to China from India will be opened. Today the Englishmen cannot guarantee—they cannot guarantee that help without any blemish. If I was in their place, I would take my life in my hands and I would die on the American soil— on the English soil, in order to defend my coastlines. If I cannot do anything for China today I cannot help it without any blemish—without any fault. Perhaps that is what the Americans may say. But what about you? Where shall I keep 40 crores of people? They are a handful—even the Americans are a handful before this vast mass of humanity which is overflowing not with life—I am sorry to say because the life has been crushed. There is a human skeleton. If the lustre is to be put into these lustreless eyes, I tell you that freedom has come today. For that freedom I have pledged the Congress and the Congress has pledged her share that 'It will do or it will die.'

Page 49-50, Para 39(a).

S. B., C. P. and Berar, 21st January 1942.—The All India Congress Committee met at Wardha from the 13th to the 16th. The first two days were taken up in private discussions on various points. The Independence Day pledge was altered to exclude the clause of *satyagraha*. Jawaharlal Nehru put forward his scheme to deal with the panic expected due to the war. Individual *satyagraha* was suspended and Gandhi proposed to carry on symbolic opposition to all wars. On the 15th a flag salutation ceremony was attended by about 400 persons and Nehru spoke briefly stating that India would not escape from the effects of the war.

Pages 50-51, Para 39(b).

Nagpur, 17th January 1942.—There was complete lull in the local activities of the Congress during the week, possibly due to the All India Congress Committee Session at Wardha.

Instructions were issued to all *satyagrahis* by Gandhi to return from their march to Delhi and to devote themselves to the constructive programme of the Congress. Accordingly about 18 *satyagrahis* returned to Nagpur.

Page 74, Para 70(b).

Wardha, 31st January 1942.—Independence Day was celebrated by the Congress at Wardha, Sewagram, Arvi, Deoli and Girad. These celebrations lacked enthusiasm. At Wardha there was a procession of 300 and flag salutation ceremony in the morning. Spinning by 200 people including Seth Jamnalal and Vinoba Narhar Bhawe was done in the evening and Shankar Trimbak Dharmadhikari read out the Independence pledge and the gathering repeated it. At Sewagram M. K. Gandhi and other *ashramites*

took out a procession, performed a flag salutation ceremony and about 80 people did spinning for about an hour. Yeshwant Mahadeo Parnerkar spoke emphasising the necessity of freedom and advised the audience to concentrate on the constructive programme. Similar processions and meetings took place at Arvi (30), Deoli (50) and Girad (100). At Girad Mathura Prasad Madhoprasad Pande predicted attacks by Japan and Germany from the East and West.

Page 84, Para 81(a).

Nagpur, 31st January 1942.—M. K. Gandhi and Ravi Shankar Shukla attended the Chokhamela Silver Jubilee celebration on the 24th January. Gandhi arrived very late and he and his followers came in by the back door. The non-Congress Mahars staged a black flag demonstration which culminated in the throwing of a few stones at the pandal as result of which a few persons received minor injuries. Intervention of the Police prevented further trouble.

Page 94, Para 97(b).

Wardha, 7th February 1942.—The All India Gou Seva Sangh Conference was inaugurated at Wardha on the 2nd by Gandhi and Vinoba Narhar Bhawe presided. M. K. Gandhi said that the cow was a useful and serviceable animal but it should be made valuable as well. They should protect and preserve it, and increase its efficiency by proper nursing, attendance and scientific study. He said that even Muslims could co-operate in this cow protection and preservation work as it would increase milch cattle and improve the breed and the supply of bullocks for cultivation. Vinoba Narhar Bhawe gave similar advice.

Page 274, Para 282(b).

Wardha, 9th May 1942.—Gandhi was understood to have been dissatisfied with the proceedings at Allahabad as the main Congress resolution on war which had been drafted by him was altered and part omitted. He therefore summoned Rajendra Prasad, Shankar Dattatraya Deo, Vallabhbhai Patel and Prafullachandra Ghosh to discuss the matter.

A meeting of 250 was held at Kharangna on the 5th with Jhamaji Khumbi of Kharangna in the chair. Mahadeo Anant Moghe of Anjni complained of the rise in price of kerosene due to want of control. Referring to the loss of Java, Burma and Singapore he remarked that the enemy had more forces than the British and advised the audience to prepare themselves for their self-protection. He said that according to the resolution passed by All India Congress Committee at Allahabad no help should be given by the Congress till independence was granted. He added that the American troops in India were meant to protect the Government and not the people. He also criticised Sir Stafford Cripps' stipulation that political parties of India should unite before the grant of independence and remarked that India should be granted independence and the people would then decide to share the power amongst themselves. Mrs. Sharayutai Dhotre said that the war was in no-way for the benefit of India and that she had no confidence in the strength and ability of the Government to defend the people. She advised the audience to get ready to defend themselves from looting and Kundaism by forming *saurakshak dals*. She also advocated the use of *Charkha* and unity between Hindus and Muslims.

Wardha, 16th May 1942.—In his meeting with Gandhi at Sewagram, it was learnt that C. Rajgopalachariar emphasised the need of bringing about

a settlement with the Muslim League with a view to forcing Government to make good its promise of granting a National Government. Gandhi was pessimistic and said that since his meeting with Sir Cripps, he had lost all confidence in British professions. It was understood that Gandhi intended to start a movement to ask the British to withdraw from India.

Page 346, Para 358(b).

Wardha, 13th June 1942.—The talks between Gandhi, Azad and Nehru continued and they did not arrive at any decision. Abul Kalam Azad was reported to be of the opinion that the country was not in a mood for any movement. Jawaharlal Nehru was said to agree with M. K. Gandhi that the British Should withdraw from India but doubted the propriety of any movement in view of the threatened Japanese invasion of India. The date of the Working Committee meeting was not definitely decided. The Working Committee was expected to follow Gandhi's lead and it was rumoured that Gandhi was likely to be arrested.

Page, 364, Para 374(b).

Wardha, 20th June 1942.—The Gandhi Nehru Azad talks at Sewagram ended on the 14th. It was reported that all agreed that the British should leave India but the means to implement any move to bring this about was not agreed on. M. K. Gandhi wanted to start propaganda to educate the public on the necessity for the complete and immediate transfer of political power which would result in averting Japanese aggression. Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad doubted the advisability of starting a mass upheaval at such a critical time and were somewhat pessimistic of the reactions of such a movement.

It was decided to apprise the All India Congress Working Committee with Gandhi's views when it met in the first week of July. Well informed Congressites expect a mass movement within the next one and half months.

Hariram Shivnarayan Pujari was challenge under the Defence Rules for an objectionable speech.

Page, 378, Para 390(b).

Wardha, 27th June 1942.—C. Rajagopalachariar visited Sewagram and had discussions with Gandhi.

Gandhi presided over the convocation of the Khadi Vidyalaya and gave certificates on the 26th.

Routine matters connected with the affairs of the All India Spinners' Association were discussed at the annual meeting at Wardha on the 25th. Among those present were Din Bandhu, Laxmidas Purushottam Asar, Dr. Satischandra Das and Babu Rajendra Prasad.

In the All India Spinners' Association Gandhi addressed the 100 secretaries and presidents who had come for the meeting. The meeting was private. Gandhi was reported to have said that a volcano would burst after the meeting of the Working Committee calling for the maximum sacrifice from everybody. He said that he could not attach much importance to the constructive work when the entire country was a blaze. He wanted a revolution to sweep the country. In the last movement he had restrained people but in the proposed struggle people should not hold him back.

Page 417, Para 435(a).

Wardha, 18th July 1942.—The Working Committee Session ended on the 14th July. The same evening in a press conference Gandhi remarked

that his draft resolution which gave full vent to his feelings was washed down by the Working Committee and the final resolution was a modified fusion of his and Pandit Nehru's drafts. It deplored the British diehard policy, decided to give up the former policy of non-embarrassment, and gave an ultimatum to the British to hand over the administration, threatening to resort to a widespread non-violent struggle. It was also decided to give absolute dictatorial powers to Gandhi. Final decision will be given by an All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay on the 7th August.

In Congress circles it was felt that the resolution fell short of expectations but there was however great jubilation at the grant of leadership to Gandhiji. Gandhi himself appeared determined to launch a big mass movement but did not divulge its exact nature. To pressmen he said that it consisted of everything one could conceive of and he would tighten the screws as the situation demands. To one pressman he remarked that he was going to light his funeral pyre.

Page 55, Para 119.

The event of the week was M. K. Gandhi's embarkation on a three weeks' fast from February 10th, which has created a stir in the political circles in the country. Partial *hartals* and suspension of business were the immediate reactions.

Page 82, Para 183.

Sympathetic demonstrations such as prayers, partial *hartals*, fasts, processions, etc. continued in some districts.

About 260 persons were put under arrest at Poona for attempting to lead processions towards the Aga Khan Palace.

M. K. Gandhi terminated his fast on the morning of March 3rd. much to the relief of the general public.

Page 52, Para 174.

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi expired on 22nd February and was cremated on the premises of the Aga Khan Palace. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, his two sons and about 100 persons, including Rt. Honourable Srinivas Sastri, Sir R. P. Paranjpe, N. C. Kelkar were present on the occasion. Her death was widely mourned in the Province through *hartals*, closure of schools and colleges and abortive processions. About 125 volunteers of the Rashtra Seva Dal, Nasik, observed a mourning silence with the Congress flag at half mast. The demonstrations were on the whole peaceful excepting for a few incidents at Poona and Ahmedabad where rowdy elements indulged in throwing stones in an effort to bring about the closure of schools and shops.

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[Bombay City, S. B., (I), May 6th]

During the week there was a good deal of anxiety felt by the people on account of newspaper reports about the illness of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and speculation was rife as to what action Government would take in the circumstances. The Press and Indian institutions, such as the Indian Merchants' Chamber, appealed to Government to release him immediately on humanitarian grounds. The news of his unconditional release which was published in Bombay on the morning of May 6th, was received with universal rejoicing in the city.

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[Bombay City S. B. (I)., May 8th].

**(REPORT OF MEETINGS ON 6TH MAY 1944)
Release of Mr. M. K. Gandhi.**

The Communist Party of India (Bombay Committee) held a public meeting at Kamgar Maidan on May 6th under the presidentship of S. S. Mirajkar, to congratulate Mr. M. K. Gandhi on his release. About 500 persons attended. The President, D. S. Vaidya, B. T. Randive and L. K. Oka made speeches in support of a resolution wishing speedy recovery to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and demanding the release of other Congress leaders so that the political deadlock could be solved. The resolution was unanimously passed.

About 200 persons (men and women) assembled at Asthika Samaj, Matunga, on May 6th and held prayers for the speedy recovery of Mr. Gandhi.

Page 117, Para 402.

M. K. Gandhi was released on May 6th from the Aga Khan's Palace. After his release he was lodged at "Parnakuti" by Lady Thackersey until he left for Dadar on May 11th to stay at Juhu (Bombay Suburban District). During his stay in Poona, he was visited by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Mr. Feroz and Indira Gandhi, K. M. Munshi, Kamalanayan Bajaj, Devidas Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar, Nanji Kalidas from South Africa, Dr. Popatlal Bhupatkar of Sind and a few local Congressmen. Evening prayers were held daily attracting audiences up to 5,000. After the prayers, Gandhi collected small sums towards the Harijan Fund to the tune of about Rs. 2,700.

On May 10th, local Congressmen including T. R. Deogirikar, K. M. Jedhe, G. A. Deshpande, H. G. Phatak and Miss Prema Kantak acquainted Gandhi with happenings in Maharashtra during the subversive movement.

On May 11th, Gandhi and party left Poona and arrived at Juhu (Bombay Suburban District) where he is staying in a shack belonging to Shantikumar Narottam Morarji.

Gandhi's release has been universally welcomed in this Province as a gesture on the part of the Government of India favourable to a solution of the Indian political deadlock even though the release is attributed to ill health.

Page 123, Para 423.

Poona, 28th May.—There is a satisfactory improvement in Gandhi's health. . He commenced observing silence for a fortnight from May 14th in order to ensure complete rest. He listens to visitors, holds evening prayers with an average attendance of 1,500 and collects contributions towards the Harijan Fund at the rate of about Rs. 1,000 per day.

Page 135, Para 463.

Poona, 3rd June.—M. K. Gandhi's health continues to improve. Evening prayers and collections for the Harijan Fund continued as usual. He

busied himself in receiving a comparatively large number of visitors during the week, prominent being Sir R. P. Masani, Mr. R. Masani (ex-Mayor of Bombay), Nagindas T. Master, S. A. Brelvi (Editor of the Bombay Chronicle,) Bhulabhai Desai, G. D. Birla, Seth Walchand Hirachand, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Indulal K. Yagnik, Sardar Prithvisingh and M. Y. Nurie (ex-Minister of Bombay).

Gandhi has not yet definitely indicated his further course of action, although he has hinted at his feelings in a private letter to Dr. M. R. Jaykar. The letter and especially the portion referring to his refusal to withdraw the August Resolution has become the subject of much controversy in the press. Opinions in political circles differ as to its use in solving the Indian political deadlock and speculation is rife that Gandhi will court re-arrest. All shades of political opinion are anxiously awaiting a public statement.

Page 149, Para 505.

Poona, 17th June 1944.—During his stay at Juhu, Gandhi presided over evening prayers attended by large audiences who made contributions to the Harijan Fund. He also busied himself with daily interviews, the more prominent visitors including (1) Mangaldas Pakwasa, (2) N. M. Joshi, (3) B. J. Desai, (4) N. T. Mastet, (5) G. D. Birla, (6) S. A. Brelvi, (7) Amrit-lal D. Sheth, (8) Sardar Prithvisingh, (9) Gulzarilal Nanda, (10) Khandubhai Desai, (11) P. C. Joshi, (12) Venkatram Shastri of Madras, (13) K. M. Munshi, (14) Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, (15) G. A. Deshpande, (16) Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta and (17) Dr. M. R. Jaykar.

He held long discussions with Dr. M. R. Jaykar and Sir Homi Mody on political situation with special reference to the August Resolution and it is learnt that he expressed his inability to withdraw the August Resolution without the support of the Congress Working Committee.

Gandhi left Juhu for Poona on June 15th and is staying in Dr. Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic. Except for a slight rise in his blood pressure his health shows no deterioration.

Page 111.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Miss Sushila Nayar, Pyarelal, Kanu Gandhi, etc. left Bombay for Poona by the Poona Express on June 15th. The party drove in motor cars from Juhu and *entrained* at the level crossing between Sion and Kurla stations where arrangements were specially made to halt the train. Dr. Gilder and half a dozen other persons saw them off.

Page 203.

June 23rd.—Before his departure to Poona on June 15th, M. K. Gandhi circulated cyclostyled copies of the correspondence which had passed between himself and the Viceroy to a few selected public and Pressmen. This correspondence consisted of 2 small volumes marked "Not for Publication". The Associated Press, however, obtained permission from Government and commenced publishing the correspondence with the result that other newspapers later on also published interesting portions.

The nationalist press believes that this is the only possible reply Gandhi can give in the circumstances and is of the opinion that there is no hope of an early solution of the present deadlock.

The *Khilafat* has very adversely criticised this correspondence and suggests that Gandhi should not be given such an opportunity to carry on correspondence with Government but that he should be advised to settle the Hindu-Muslim question.

The *Inqitab* has also taken an adverse view of the letters.

Page 155, Para 525.

Poona, 24th June 1944.—Gandhi's health continues to improve in spite of fluctuating blood pressure. Several visitors including Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Mr. and Mrs. Feroz Gandhi, Mrs. Nargis Ben Captain, A. V. Thakkar, Nagindas T. Master and few local leaders called on him during the week.

The outstanding event of political interest was Gandhi's circulation to the selected leaders, editors and friends of the two booklets (1) containing correspondence between him and the Government of Bombay, Central Government and H. E. The Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and (2) his reply to the Government publication "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43." Some letters addressed to H. E. the Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and a substantial portion of his reply to the Government of India have appeared in the Press and their publication appears to have been generally welcomed as a possible lead to a solution of the political stalemate.

Page 161, Para 540.

Poona, 1st July 1944.—During the week Gandhi received a number of visitors including (1) Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, (2) Dr. Jawaharlal of U. P., (3) Venkatrama Sastri, (4) Miss. Margaret Pope, (5) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, (6) Dr. James Veil and had prolonged discussions with K. M. Munshi, G. D. Birla, Dr. Khan Saheb (ex-Premier of the N. W. F. Province), Dr. M. R. Jaykar and C. Rajagopalachariar.

On June 29th, he addressed a gathering of about 50 Congressmen from Maharashtra and explained his present position as a dictator so far as the August Resolution was concerned. A summary of his speech has already been published in the Press,

Gandhi intends to leave for Panchgani (Satara district) on July 2nd. *Page 167, Para 562.*

Poona, 8th July 1944.—M. K. Gandhi left for Panchgani (Satara district) on the morning of July 2nd with his encourage and was greeted on his arrival by local Congressmen and a batch of 40 volunteers of the Rashtra Seva Dal. He later gave interviews to local Congress leaders, viz., R. G. Soman and D. K. Gosavi. Gandhi is reported to have had prolonged discussions with C. Rajagopalachariar on the question of withdrawal of the August Resolution but would arrive at no final decision in the absence of the members of the Working Committee. He does not seem inclined to give any indication of his future policy. Congressmen in Maharashtra, who called on him during his stay at Poona, appear to be labouring under a feeling of suspense and do not intend to initiate any definite programme pending future developments.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, had discussions with Gandhi on July 5th.

Page 179, Para 604.

Poona, 22nd July 1944.—During the week Gandhi busied himself in issuing statements and giving interviews to Pressmen in order to explain his

position in respect of the solution of the Indian political deadlock. His attitude towards Rajagopalachariar's formula for the Congress-League settlement has extremely provoked Hindu Maha Sabhaites who are now out to demonstrate their opposition vehemently. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, has issued a statement asking Hindu Maha Sabhaites to observe "Anti-Pakistan Week" all over the country. It is also learnt that a batch of about a dozen volunteers of the Hindu Rashtra Dal staged a black flag demonstration at Panchgani, during Gandhi's prayer time on July 22nd.

Page 173, Para 583.

Poona, 15th July, 1944.—Despite inclement weather at Panchgani Gandhi continued to hold discussions with leaders and Press correspondents during the week. His interview with Mr. Gilder, war correspondent of the *News Chronicle* (London), has been given wide publicity in the Indian Press along with the preface issued subsequently by Gandhi explaining the motive behind the interview. In short, he has obviously adopted a policy of reconciliation by putting forward a demand for the establishment of a National Government at the Centre with facilities to be afforded for advice and criticism in matters of defence. Gandhi's new move has drawn a fire of criticism from various political quarters but has generally had a favourable reception in that it has at least opened the door of negotiation with Government.

Another event of political importance during the week was the publication of correspondence regarding the formula offered by C. Rajagopalachariar to M. A. Jinnah, with the approval of M. K. Gandhi, for a Congress-League settlement on the issue of Pakistan. The formula has naturally received a mixed reception from political parties, with the leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha providing vehement opposition and claiming that Gandhi and the Congress have no right to surrender an inch of the country.

Page 185, Para. 621.

Gandhi watched the reactions to the various statements he has issued in connection with the solution of the deadlock and Rajagopalachariar's formula. He also held discussions with Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, and Dr. Ahmed Kazi of the Orient Press and gave interview^a to Manoranjan Chaudhari of the Bengal Hindu Sabha, Mrs. Kalyani Bhatta-charjee, Mohan Kumar Mangalam, Vaijanath Mahodaya and Mr. R. K. Sidhwa.

On 28th July 1944 Gandhi issued a statement denouncing sabotage activities and advising underground workers to discover themselves and take the risk of being imprisoned in the conviction that their imprisonment would help the freedom movement, if they share his thesis that underground activity is not conducive to the growth of the spirit of active non-violence. He also reiterated his faith in the constructive programme, viz., (1) communal unity, (2) removal of untouchability, (3) prohibition, (4) other village industries, (5) *khadi*, (6) village sanitation, (7) new or basic education, (8) adult education, (9) uplift of women, (10) service of the so called aboriginers, (11) education in health and hygiene, (12) propaganda of *Rashtra Bhasha*, (13) love of one's own language, and (14) working for economic equality.

Page 191, Para 642.

Poona, 5th August 1944.—Gandhi busied himself in giving interviews to Pressmen, Congress workers and issuing statements. He had discussions with Nagindas T. Master about the details of the constructive programme

drawn up by him and the question of surrender of underground agitators. To a suggestion from Nagindas T. Master, Gandhi said that the programme for the celebration of the Second Anniversary of the 9th August should be held only in private places and attended by groups of less than five persons. Congressmen in general should carry on their normal activities as in the time before the August Resolution. On July 29th, about 20 Congressmen from Satara district including R. G. Soman, R. V. Limaye saw Gandhi and described the food problem and political situation in the district.

Gandhi left Panchgani on August 1st and arrived at Poona on the same evening, receiving receptions from villagers *en route*. Next morning he left Poona for Wardha (C. P.) *via* Kalyan where he was accorded a reception from a gathering of about 6,000 persons and was garlanded by various local institutions.

Page 227, Para 767.

Poona, 16th September, 1944.—M. K. Gandhi and party, who arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail, in the afternoon of September 9th, alighted at a level crossing between Kurla and Sion and were received by Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shantikumar Morarji and others.

It is reported that about 30 *khaksars* boarded the same train at Kalyan, together with 6 Sikhs carrying anti-Pakistan placards. They too alighted at the level crossing, where a crowd of about 100 persons demonstrated with a placard and shouted anti-Pakistan slogans. Gandhi then proceeded to Birla House by car.

At 4 p.m. (9th September) Gandhi met Jinnah at the latter's bungalow on Mount Pleasant Road and had discussions with him for about 3 hours. He then returned to Birla House, where he held prayers before an assembly of about 500 persons. Eight Sikhs in batches of 4 were arrested for attempting to hold anti-Pakistan demonstrations on September 9th. One S. K. Nalavade, who offered *satyagraha* at the entrance of Gandhi's residence was also arrested. On September 10th, four Sikhs and one Hindu Maha-sabhaite were arrested for similar demonstrations.

On September 10th, about 10,000 persons collected at Rungta House where Gandhi held his evening prayers.

Page 233, Para 789.

Poona, 23rd September, 1944.—The Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations continued during the week.

Page 233, Para 790.

To mark Gandhi's 75th birthday anniversary, the customary Gandhi Jayanti week is being celebrated from September 14th throughout Gujarat and Bombay Suburban District. The programme includes mass spinning, flag salutation and prayers for Gandhi's long life.

A private meeting of the trustees of the Kasturba National Memorial Fund was held at Bombay on September 9th under the presidentship of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Among those present were Sir Purshottam Thakordas, J. R. Tata, C. Rajagopalachari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, K. M. Munshi, Amba-lal Sarabhai, Shantikumar Narottam Morarji, A. V. Thakkar, and Devidas Gandhi. Mangaladas Pakvasa and Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee were present by invitation.

Page 239, Para 810.

Poona, September 30th, 1944.—After 18 days of discussion shrouded in secrete the Gandhi-Jinnah talks broke down on September 27th. In nationalist circles widespread despondency was evident at the failure to achieve any result which might indicate way out of the present impasse. The opposition of Hindu Maha Sabha and anti-Pakistan supporters was proportionately jubilant. They do not, however, intend to allow the anti-Pakistan agitation to laps into acquiescene and V. D. Savarkar in a press statement has urged strong support for the Akhand Hindustan Leaders Conference to be held in Delhi.

The Urdu Press, not unnaturally, throws the onus of the failure on Gandhi whom it accuses of a disinclination to understand the demand for Pakistan which he visualizes as a side-issue compared to the demand for independence.

Page 245, Para 829. Gandhi left Bombay for Wardha on September 30th.

Page 49, Para 292.

Gandhi's release has caused considerable satisfaction in all Hindu political circles and has raised hopes that Government will soon release other leaders and settle the political deadlock. There was some anxiety about Gandhi's health and prayers were offered in several districts for his speedy recovery.

Page 71, Para 399, July 1, 1944.—His Excellency the Viceroy's refusal as interview Gandhi has caused general disappointment as it was hoped that something tangible would emerge from the interview and the honour of the Congress would be vindicated. However, according to a reliable source an individual who recently saw Gandhi at Poona appears to be optimistic about the establishment of a national government in the near future.

Page 75, Para 434, July 15, 1944.—There was little activity beyond the collection of funds for the Kasturba Memorial.

Gandhi's pronouncement regarding his willingness to advise Congress to agree to the formation of a national government and to assist in the prosecution of the war has met with a mixed reception in Congress circles. His volte face is imputed by some to the fact that he is now certain of an Allied victory and it is considered that his action is tantamount to a political blunder and a betrayal of the nation.

Page 83, Para 480, August 5, 1944.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Wardha on the 3rd August *en route* to Sewagram. He visited the spot where a han was killed due to the Police firing in Augustt 1942. C. Rajgopalachariar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee arrived on the 4th and 5th August, respectively, and held prolonged discussions with him on the political situation and the Pakistan issue. Both Gandhi and C. Rajgopalachariar are reported to be dubious about the result of the former's forthcoming interview with Jinnah. On the 4th C. Rajgopalachariar spoke at a public meeting held at Wardha under the auspices of the Rashtriya Vidhyarthi Sangh and presided over by Kamalnayan Bajaj. He said the formula was drawn up by him and accepted by Gandhi to test the sincerity of the British offer contained in the Cripps' proposal. The British Government, he aversed, was jubilant over the rejection of the formula by the Muslim League and were now hoping

that the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting would also prove abortive. Jinnah was not averse to a settlement but was trying to secure as much as possible out of the bargain and if he failed the whole of Muslim India would go against him. He commended the wisdom of Irish statesman in accepting the partition of Ireland and said that in course of time the whole of Ireland would be united and free.

Gandhi's press statement on the programme for the 9th August was telephoned to the Associated Press, Bombay, from Sewagram. It is understood that Gandhi's first draft contained considerable criticism of Government, but Rajgopalachariar persuaded him to send a milder statement.

Page 87, Para 497, August 12, 1944.—Several political leaders, including Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who arrived from Chanda with his grandson, Kiran Shankar Roy, Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Subbarayan, former minister of Madras, held discussions with Gandhi on the political situation with particular reference to the Pakistan issue, the Bengal leaders were strongly opposed to the partition scheme and insisted on the exercise of the right of self determination on a linguistic and cultural, and not a religious basis.

According to a most reliable source Gandhi is not meeting Jinnah with the intention of settling details of his offer or adopting a policy of appeasement. He is going to Bombay simply to see whether straight-forwardness, sincerity and earnestness will evoke a corresponding response in Jinnah. The portents are not considered encouraging in inner Congress circles.

The 9th August evoked little enthusiasm. In fact the day passed unnoticed at Saugor, Hoshangabad, Bilaspur, Durg and Balaghat where there was a complete absence of any activity.

Page 91, Para 523, August 26, 1944.—The influx of visitors to Sewagram abated and Congressmen are eagerly awaiting the meeting between the two leaders. Gandhi is reported to be still pessimistic about the outcome of his interview with Jinnah and has been persistently informing other members of the *ashram* that he will have to find his way back to prison soon.

Page 93, Para 541, September 2, 1944.—It is reliably understood that at his forthcoming meeting with Jinnah, M. K. Gandhi will not commit himself further than conceding the principle of self-determination in Muslim majority provinces and will avoid going into details of the Pakistan scheme. In return he will demand Muslim co-operation in the fight for freedom.

M. K. Gandhi presided over a meeting of the All-India Spinner's Association held at Wardha on the 1st September. Thirty-five members attended. He advocated decentralisation of the organisation which would have the advantage of making provincial branches autonomous and self-sufficient. He stressed the importance of the *charkha* which, apart from its economical value, was a potential weapon for the achievement of independence.

Page 97, Para 557, September 9, 1944.—In connection with the decentralisation of the All-India Spinners' Association the constitution of two village organisations, drafted by M. K. Gandhi *Samiti*, will be the propagation of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* and have come to notice. The object of one of these, called the *Rachnatmak* also participation in or organisation of any one or more constructive items of work indicated by Gandhi, the distribution of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* and other

articles of village industries without any profit to any individual or institution and the propagation of ideas regarding non-violence and *khaddar* through libraries, reading rooms.

Page 103, Para 583, September, 23, 1944.—M. K. Gandhi is expected to return to Wardha to receive a purse in connection with the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial on the 2nd October. Total collections are reported to amount to seventy lakhs, but only a little over forty lakhs have so far been received by the Central Committee who have circularised all Provincial Committees to transfer as much money as possible before the 30th. September.

Page 105, Para 597, September 30, 1944.—The break down in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks occasioned little comment, particularly in Sewagram where the result was considered a foregone conclusion.

M. K. Gandhi returned to Sewagram (Wardha) on the 1st October. Arrangements have been made to present him with a purse on behalf of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund at a private function, which will be attended by members of the *ashram* and other invited persons.

Page 109, Para 597.

Total collections to the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund are reported to amount to Rs. 1,11,00,000. Gandhi was presented with a cheque for Rs. 83,00,000 by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at a private meeting attended by 1,000 persons, including trustees and secretaries of the Fund, and other important Congressmen at Sewagram on the 2nd October. After the presentation A. V. Thakkar the secretary's report, Gandhi said that this money would be used for the basic education of women and children and for village sanitation and medical relief, preventive and curative. He added that 75 per cent of money collected from a particular area would be spent in that area not being towns or cities and the remaining 25 per cent would go to the central fund. Money collected in large cities would all go to the central fund and nothing out of it would be spent in cities. Later a meeting of trustees was held and seven out of the sixteen trustees attended. Ten more trustees were co-opted and it was decided to ask Provincial Committees which were formed for the collection of funds to suggest schemes for consideration at the next meeting.

Page 117, Para 641.

According to a very reliable source, Gajanan Ramrao Kulkarni, Secretary of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee, Akola intends convening a meeting of selected prominent Congressmen of Berar to chalk out their future programme of work. In the meanwhile, Kulkarni, who interviewed M. K. Gandhi last week, has written to Congressmen in Amravati, Yeotmal and Buldhana calling for replies on the following points for the information of the latter:—

1. The number of persons arrested in connection with the 1942 movement, the categories in which they were placed, how many were detained and how many convicted with the nature of conviction.

2. How many political prisoners are still in jail showing the categories in which they are placed.

3. A statement showing persons convicted under Ordinances, D. I. R. and I.P.C. If any of them were awarded capital punishment, were they executed or are their cases still pending.

4. The number of political prisoners helped financially to defend themselves in courts and the source from which he has received.

5. The nature of work done by released Congressmen, the extent to which they are interested in non-violence, whether they are devoting themselves to constructive work and a report on their general attitude and morals.

6. What was the opinion of Congressmen to Gandhi's speech in Panchgani which he stated that Congressmen should start their regular Congress work and if obstructed by Government they should protest by non-violent means.

7. The nature of normal activities, whether enrolment of new members has been started or not and how many Congress committees have been reformed.

Page 188, Para 643.

October 21, 1944.—Ramrao Krishnarao Patil visited Wardha on the 17th October and saw M. K. Gandhi. It is reported he intends to tour in rural areas next month to instruct cultivators to oppose Government's procurement measures if they are unwilling to part with their grain.

Page 125, Para 670.

November 4, 1944.—It is reliably learnt that M. K. Gandhi is in correspondence with leaders of various political schools about holding an all parties conference. The date and venue have not yet been fixed.

Gandhi's hints to workers issued over the signature of Khurshedben Naoroji (I. N. No. 9, dated 7th November 1942) have come to notice. Workers are asked to realise that the constructive programme is the nonviolent and truthful way of winning independence and that civil disobedience, mass or individual, is an aid to constructive effort. Committees should be formed to educate *kisans*, to increase the wages of landless labourers and to investigate land law, indebtedness of cultivators and the cattle problem. In regard to industrial labour the aim of the constructive programme is the elevation of labour to its deserved status by the establishment of its own unions, by education, general and scientific and by teaching labour the science of conducting successful non-violent strikes. In regard to students there should be a body of workers to infuse national consciousness in them and make them patriotic.

According to a reliable source the question of disbandment of the Seva-gram Ashram has been shelved for the time being.

Page 129, Para 686.

November 11, 1944.—M. K. Gandhi presided over a meeting of trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund held at Sevagram on the 4th and 5th November. Mrudulaben was appointed the organising secretary and an expenditure of Rs. 42,500 incurred in the collection of funds was sanctioned. A committee, with G. V. Mavalankar as convener and three members, was appointed to frame rules and regulations for the management of the trust. Gandhi was authorised to appoint a medical board to formulate a scheme for work in villages and the Talimi Sangh was requested to prepare an education scheme. A sum of Rs. 1,000 was also sanctioned for a maternity and child welfare centre at Sevagram.

Dr. Zakir Hussain presided over a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Talimi Sangh. held at Wardha on the 5th and 6th November. Addressing the meeting, M. K. Gandhi said that the Sangh should shoulder the

full responsibility of national education. It was also decided to call a conference of educational workers in the first week of January next to prepare a detailed scheme. In the meantime three sub-committees were formed to prepare tentative schemes for pre-basic, post-basic and adult education to be put up for discussion at the conference. It was also proposed to hold a camp at Sevagram from the 15th November to train workers in the village scheme to be inaugurated under the auspices of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial.

Page 746, Para 754.

December 9th, 1944.—According to a reliable source, Kanu Gandhi met Tukdoji at Nagpur on the 11th November at the instance of M. K. Gandhi who is reported to be satisfied with the work of the Mandal. As if in confirmation of this alliance comes the information that Gandhi attended collective prayers held by 225 members of the Gurudeo Sewa Mandal at Sewagram on the 7th December. He spoke briefly thanking the members of the Mandal for coming to the *ashram*, but regretted that Tukdoji could not be amongst them on account of the ban on his movements. He said Tukdoji could have defied the restrictive order, but such action was not desirable at this stage.

Gurudeo Sewa Mandals were established in three villages of the Chhind-wara district and at Bhandara and Tirora (Bhandara District).

Pages 59, 60; Para 171.

The Bombay Mill Mazdoor Sangh held a private meeting on February 18th. Gulzarilal Nanda presided and about 40 persons including (1) S. K. Patil, (2) S. B. Mahashabde, (3) G. D. Ambekar, (4) Dr. V. B. Korgaonkar, (5) Amul Desai, (6) Baburao Gholap, (7) Raja Kulkarni and (8) Rohit M. Dave attended.

The president said that he had recently interviewed Mr. Gandhi and had a talk with him regarding the working class movement. Mr. Gandhi had said that the Congress, with the co-operation of labour organisations, should try to unite workers under its (Congress) leadership in order to launch a fight for the freedom of India. The speaker said that the peasants and students were already supporting the Congress and he stressed the necessity of also bringing the State subjects and the working classes into the Congress fold within the next two years.

Page 94, Para 282.

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by his two secretaries Dr. Miss Sushila Nayar and Dr. Syed Mahmood, arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail on March 31st. The party was received by about 300 persons including Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, Dahyabhai Patel, Miss. Maniben Patel. He is staying at Birla House.

He is expected to attend the meetings of the executive of the Kasturba Memorial Fund Committee and of the trustees. It is learnt that a number of important schemes drawn up by the various Provincial and District Committees of the trust will be considered at the meetings. Fresh collections to, the Fund are also to be considered.

The Bombay Chronicle, April 4, 1945.
Speech at Rungta House on 3rd April 1945, Gandhiji Reprimands
Indisciplined Crowed.

In the course of his speech at the end of the prayer Gandhiji said that it was a matter of shame that they had come to pray to God but failed to conduct the prayer peacefully. People shouted and did not allow the prayer to go on, as it should go on.

Continuing, he said that he had been told by a friend that the people of Bombay would derive no benefit from his prayer. They would throw a few rupees for the Harijan Fund, but if he thought that it was going to produce any effect on them or that they would embrace the Harijans, as their own kith and kin, he (Gandhiji) was mistaken, "If you want, you go to Bombay. You will get money but as far as prayers are concerned, it is better to stay at home and pray" the friend had warned him.

Gandhiji said that he was not entirely convinced. They could not see God with the naked eye. They could not touch Him with their hands. He had become an untouchable. And, no wonder, considering that there was so much sin abroad, such violence, drinking and gambling. Forty crores of people were in serfdom. This was because they only talked of freedom but they did not know what freedom was really worth. But he told his friend that he had always conducted prayers for a long time. He was a firm believer in prayer. Every religion had taught that man was no man if he did not pray to his Maker. Therefore he had told his friend that there was not much chance of his advice being followed. He (Gandhiji) could not give up his principles. If he did not trust the people even that much, he would be worth nothing. If he gave up prayers, the next thing for him to do, would be give up the struggle for freedom, the striving for truth and non-violence.

He told the people that they should let him come and go without rushing towards him. They should keep silent during prayers.

In conclusion, Gandhiji asked them how if they would not control themselves they would wield the reins of power. He would come there the next day and every day thereafter as long as he stayed in Bombay. He would watch how far his word had gone home. He would find out how far they were fit to govern themselves. The man with God in his heart would know how to control himself.

Page 102, Para 311.

Poona, 14th April, 1945.—Since his arrival in Bombay, M. K. Gandhi has had a number of visitors including the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, Gul-zarilal Nanda, Khandubhai Desai, the Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Bishwanath Das of Orissa, Shrikrishna Das Jaju, Gangadharrao Deshpande, Dr. Syed Mahmood and Mrs. Maitreyee Bose. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who arrived in Bombay on April 3rd has been almost a daily visitor.

Informal discussions in connection with the Kasturba Memorial Fund took place at Birla House on April 1st, 2nd, and 4th and various schemes put forward by provinces were considered. The meeting of the trustees has been adjourned to April 13th.

As usual, Gandhi attended evening prayers first at Birla House and from April 3rd at Rungta House. These functions were well attended and collections were made for the Harijan Fund.

On April 8th, Gandhi received a deputation on behalf of the strikers of the B.E.S.T. & Co. and reported to have said that, if the leaders of the workers' union had been arrested by the authorities for suspending work for 10 minutes on April 3rd they should be released immediately. He is also said to have congratulated their leaders for their extreme moderation and consideration for the convenience of the public.

Gandhi is expected to prolong his stay in Bombay for about a week and will then leave for Mahabaleshwar.

Page 110, Para 335.

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, A. V. Thakkar, Purushottamdas Tandon, Shantikumar N. Morarji, paid a visit to the women workers training camp at Borivli (Bombay Suburban District) on April 11th, where he was taken round by Miss Mrudula Sarabhai.

Gandhi addressed the trainees and spoke about the duties they would be called upon to perform in the villages after their training.

He spoke at some length on subjects connected with the social welfare of women and children, the removal of untouchability, the national language, etc.

Gandhi attended the usual evening prayers at Borivli in which about 7,000 persons took part. After prayers, Gandhi referred to the training camp and said that the women volunteers would go to different provinces to work among the villagers for the welfare of women and children. He reiterated his faith in truth and non-violence and stressed the need for learning Hindi and for the removal of untouchability. Concluding he said that those prayers were intended for those who wanted to throw off slavery.

At a meeting of the trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund held at Scindia House on April 13th attended by M. K. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, the Honourable Mr. Mavlankar, the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premilila Thakersey, several schemes for starting dispensaries in rural areas for the prevention of leprosy and also centres for training nurses, and spreading basic education were approved of. A sum of Rs. 36,000 was sanctioned for the maintenance of the central office in Bombay.

Evening prayers were held at Rungta House where collections were made for the Harijan Fund. A sum of Rs. 35,000 was made over to Mr. Gandhi by the Bullion Exchange for the use of the dependents of the Chimur and Ashti convicts. At one of the prayer meetings held on April 15th, Gandhi made it clear that he left the question of office acceptance to the discretion of Provincial Congress leaders. He personally believed in his fifteen-fold constructive programme which would give the Indian people the freedom they wanted.

Two illegal posters in Hindi were noticed pasted on the walls at Rungta House where M. K. Gandhi holds his evening prayers. One of them depicted the incident of Jalianwalla Baug and exhorted people not to forget the day of martyrdom. The second poster pointed out that since the civil disobedience movement of 1942 people have discovered their friends and enemies in the Congress Party. The poster showed that Gandhi's schemes have been carried out by selfish men who are around him and suggested that such selfish persons should be eliminated from the Congress for the achievement of independence.

Gandhi arrived in Poona on April 20th and stayed for the night. He is reported to have had a short discussion about the Parliamentary

programme with local Congressmen whom he instructed to follow it, if they believed in it. But no one, he said, was empowered to speak for the Congress in the absence of the Working Committee. Finally he asked them to implement his constructive programme.

The next morning 21st April Gandhi accompanied by Pyarelal, Dr. Sushila Nayar and two others left for Mahabaleshwar.

Page 295.

Bombay City, S. B. (I), April 16th.—On April 14th, Manilal Gandhi (Gandhi's son) returned from South Africa. He is residing at Birla House and is expected to stay in India for about a year.

At a meeting of the trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund held at Scindia House on April 13th and attended by M. K. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, the Honourable Mr. Mavlankar, the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premila Thakersey, several schemes for starting dispensaries in rural areas for the prevention of leprosy and also centres for training nurses, and spreading basic education were approved of. A sum of Rs. 36,000 was sanctioned for the maintenance of the central office in Bombay.

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Mr. Gandhi will leave Bombay for Mahabaleshwar by the Deccan Queen on April 20th.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan left for Peshawar on April 15th.

Page 116 Para 353.

On April 17th, several Pressmen, including American and British war correspondents, interviewed M. K. Gandhi. They were given copies of his statement on the ensuing San Francisco Conference which was published in the Press next day.

On April 18th, leading members of the Indian Merchants Chamber headed by its president M. A. Master and vice-president Mahamed Hussein Premji saw Gandhi and discussed with him a report published in the British Press to the effect that India could only be industrialised by British and Indian co-operation on a fifty-fifty basis in capital and controlling interests. Gandhi is reported to have advised the merchants not to co-operate with such schemes of industrialisation if they found that they were impracticable in India.

On April 19th, Gandhi held his final evening prayers at Rungta House before a gathering of about 500 persons and once more laid stress on his fifteen fold constructive programme in preference to the parliamentary one.

Page 247, Para 773.

M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and party arrived in Poona on August 21st. He was received Shivajinagar railway station by a crowd of about 300 persons, including local Congress leaders and Rashtra Seva Dal volunteers.

Gandhi and Patel have taken up their residence at Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic where Patel has been receiving treatment. Both of them are, however, reported to have seen a number of local Congress leaders and such visitors as S. D. Deo, B. G. Kher, N. V. Gadgil, G. A. Deshpande, Dr. B. C. Lagu, Kaka Kalelkar, S. S. Batliwala, Miss Mrudula Sarabhai, Dr. A. G. Tendulkar and a few others, and to have had private discussions with them.

On August 24th Sir Jagdish Prasad and Dr. M. R. Jaykar saw Gandhi and Patel and had private discussions.

Gandhi held his usual evening prayers and collected money for the Harijan Fund.

The news about the death of Subhas Bose reached here on August 24th. N. V. Gadgil, president of the M. P. C. C. and J. S. Karandikar, president of the Provincial Hindu Maha Sabha, issued a joint appeal to the public and to students to observe *hartal* for the day. Further developments will be reported in due course.

Page 255, Para 794.

Poona, 1st September, 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel saw the following prominent persons during the week:—

(1) Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, (2) B. G. Kher, (3) J. B. Kripalani, (4) Sir Gopaldaswami Iyengar, (5) Acharya Narendra Deo, (6) Ashok Mehta, (7) Prof. Agarwal, (8) Gulzarilal Nanda, (9) P. H. *alias* Rao Saheb Patwardhan, (10) N. V. Gadgil, (11) R. K. Khadilkar.

P. H. Patwardhan, N. V. Gadgil and R. K. Khadilkar are reported to have had discussions about the situation in Satara district with Gandhi and Vallabhbhai. S. D. Deo, a member of the Congress Working Committee and N. V. Gadgil, president of the M. P. C. C., issued press statements in reply to the Government Press Note describing various instances of gangster activity by underground agitators.

Page 263, Para 811.

Poona, 8th September, 1945.—A number of political leaders and others saw Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel at Poona during the week, the most prominent being (1) Ahmed Dastagir, (2) Mohan Kumaramangalam, (3) Shailesh Chandra Bose (brother of S. C. Bose), (4) R. D. Birla, (5) Sir Ardeshir Dalai, (6) N. V. Gadgil, (7) Miss Prema Kantak, (8) Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, (9) S. P. Gidwani (president, H. M. Sabha, Karachi*), (10) the Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa, (11) Kasturbhai Lalbhai, (12) R. R. Divakar, and (13) Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

Ahmed Dastagir, who was deputed by Allama Mashriqui, discussed the draft constitution framed by Mashriqui with Gandhi. L. M. Patil, ex-minister, discussed with Patel the labour and *kisan* activities in Maharashtra. Mohan Kumaramangalam, a Bombay Communist, is reported to have 'discussed the situation arising out of the present strained relations existing between Communists and Congressites in Bombay,

Page 271, Para 831.

Poona, 15th September, 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel saw a number of political leaders and visitors at Poona during the week the most prominent being (1) S. S. Batliwala, (2) Ghanashyam Gupta, (3) B. J. Desai, (4) K. M. Munshi, (5) Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, (6) Nagindas T. Master, (7) Seth Walchand Hirachand, (8) Mr. Si-Liu-Sun, Chinese Vice Consul, (9) Mrs. Si-Liu-Sun, (10) B. G. Kher, (11) P. H. *alias* Rao Saheb Patwardhan, (12) S. K. Patil.

Ghanashyam Gupta is understood to have had discussions with Gandhi regarding the ban on *Satyartha Prakasha* and to have sought his advice. Bhulabhai Desai discussed the statement issued by Liaquat Ali Khan regarding the Desai-Liaquat Pact with Gandhi and proposes to issue a statement explaining his position and his discussions with Liaquat Ali on the subject.

Gandhi addressed the members of the Maharashtra Provincial Kasturba Memorial Committee held at the Nature Cure Clinic on September 9th under the presidentship of B. G. Kher, and advised them to pay special attention to sanitation and epidemics in the villages.

P. H. *alias* Rao Saheb Patwardhan had further discussions with Vallabhbhai J. Patel on the subject of Satara.

V. J. Patel granted an interview to Mr. Preston Grover, of the Associated Press of America and made a statement on the present political situation in India. The statement has appeared in the press.

Page 271, Para 832.

As announced, the Congress Working Committee met in Poona on September 12th under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The following members were present:—

(1) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (2) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (3) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (4) Bar. Asaf Ali, (5) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, (6) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, (7) Harekrishna Mehtab, (8) Govind Vallabha Pant, (9) Vallabhbhai J. Patel, (10) S. D. Deo and (11) Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

M. K. Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, Gopinath Bardoli and Kiran Shankar Roy were also present.

The members of the Working Committee reviewed the political situation in the country from August 1942 up to date and discussed the prospects of general elections. They also discussed the question of self determination arising out of the statement issued by the Congress President.

After four days' deliberations the Committee drafted the following resolutions for the consideration of the A.I.C.C. to be held in Bombay:—

"The A.I.C.C. at its first meeting after more than three years of want on suppression by the British Government, desires to convey its greetings and congratulations to the nation for the courage and endurance with which it withstood, the fears and violent onslaught the British power and its deep sympathy to all those who suffered during those three years of military, police and ordinance rules. The committee regrets that in some places the people forgot and fell away from the Congress method of peaceful and non-violent action, but realises that the provocative action of the Government in effecting sudden and widespread arrests of all well known leaders and ruthless repression of peaceful demonstrations, goaded them to rise spontaneously to resist the armed might of an alien imperialist power which

was trying to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The earnest appeal made by the A.I.C.C. at its last meeting held on August 8th, 1942, for creating conditions necessary for full co-operation with the United Nations in the cause of world freedom was ignored and the suggested attempts to solve the Indian problem by negotiations were answered by the Government by an all-out attack on the Indian people and by subjecting an unarmed India to many of the horrors of war which accompany an invasion. Three years of rightfulness have left their long trail behind them, of death and agony and suffering and avoidable man-made famine which took its toll of millions of lives, and an administrative system which is full of corruption and incompetence, totally incapable of handling or solving India's problems. Yet these years have also demonstrated the courage of the Indian people to meet Governmental repression and have steeled and hardened in their resolve to gain freedom and deliverance from foreign rule.

The world war is happily over and its long shadow still darkens the world and prospects of future war are being considered. The appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilisation is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man. The end of the war has brought freedom to the colonial and dependent countries, and the imperialist powers are again engaged in the old contest for dominion over others.

The A.I.C.C. reiterates its national and international objectives laid down in its resolution of August 8th, 1942, and its conviction that the independence of India is essential for world peace and must be the basis for the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. The independence of India must be unequivocally recognised and her status among the United Nations must be that of an independent nation, co-operating with others on the equal basis for the establishment of a world order of peace and freedom. "

Page 281, Para 863.

Poona, 22nd September 1945.—M. K. Gandhi attended the sittings of the Congress Working Committee at all its sessions in Poona. He held evening prayers as usual and collected about Rs. 1,700 for the Harijan Fund.

On September 20th he attended the meeting of the All India Hindustani Talimi Sangh. Those present included B. G. Kher, Dr. Zakeer Hussain, Krishnadas Jaju, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Professor J. C. Kumarappa, C. Ramchandran, Narhari Parikh and D. B. Kalelkar.

Gandhi left for Bombay on the night of 20th to attend the A.I.C.C. meeting.

Page 289, Para 874.

M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel returned to Poona from Bombay on September 24th and 25th, respectively.

They saw a number of visitors during the week, prominent being:

(1) N. V. Gadgil, (2) Sailesh Chandra Bose, (3) Surendra Mohan Ghosh, (4) Sir Jagdish Prasad, (5) Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, (6) Wamanrao Mukadam, (7) Raijada Hansraj, (8) Harekrishna Mehtab, (9) B. G. Kher, (10) C. J. Ambli, (11) Shrirang Kamat, and (12) Sarat Chandra Bose.

On September 26th, Gadgil is reported to have discussed with V. J. Patel the question of Congressmen who are debarred from standing as candidates to the Legislatures due to imprisonment in the 1942 movement, and sought his advice.

Sarat Chandra Bose, who saw Gandhi and Patel on September 28th, is reported to have discussed with them matters pertaining to the ensuing elections, the situation in Bengal and the Azad Hind Army.

Page 291, Para 876.

After a lapse of about 3 years the A.I.C.C. met for the first time in Bombay at Gowalia Tank Maidan under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on September 21st. About 25,000 persons attended and an equal number assembled outside the pandal. About 2,000 volunteers under Dr. T. R. Naravane and Mrs. Sofia Khan were posted at the pandal to preserve order.

M. K. Gandhi did not attend the A.I.C.C. meeting owing to indisposition.

Page 303, Para 897.

Poona, 6th October 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel are having a stream of visitors the more important who saw them during the week being. (1) K. M. Munshi, (2) B. G. Kher, (3) G. B. Deshpande, (4) S. K. Patil, (5) Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya, (6) Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, (7) Sir Purshot-tamdas Thakurdas, (8) A. V. Thakkar and (9) Walchand Hirachand.

S. K. Patil who was accompanied by Dahyabhai V. Patel is reported to have discussed with V. J. Patel the names of prospective candidates to be put up by the Congress in Bombay city.

The attendance to Gandhi's evening prayers has dwindled down especially after his return from Bombay, obviously affecting his collections towards the Harijan Fund. The total collections during the week roughly amount to Rs. 1,040.

Page 313, Para 920.

Poona, 13th October 1945.—The following persons saw M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel during the week:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 Jamnadas Dwarkadas of Bombay, | 6. Labhsing Narang, vice-president of the All India Sikh League. |
| 2. Shantikumar Morarji, | 7. N. V. Gadgil, |
| 3. S. D. Deo, | 8. S. K. Patil, and |
| 4. Chunilal Dwarkadas, | 9. H. H. Chimanabai, Dowager Maharani of Baroda. |
| 5. Seth Walchand Hirachand, | |

On October 8th Labhsing Narang discussed with Gandhi and Patel the election prospects in the Punjab and assured his full support to the Congress on behalf of the All India Sikh League and the Akali Dal in the ensuing elections. He requested Gandhi to make efforts for the release of Shardul-sing Kaveeshwar.

Page 321, Para 945.

Poona, 20th October, 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel continued to be busy in interviewing various visitors and holding discussions with them, the more prominent being S. K. Patil, Pandit, H. N. Kunzru, Dahyabhai Patel, P. Kodand Rao, B. G. Kher, Darbar Gopaldas, G. B. Deshpande, Sudhir Ghosh, G. D. Birla, R. R. Diwakar and Indulal K. Yagnik.

Page 329, Para 970.

Poona, 27th October 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel kept themselves busy during the week and saw the following prominent persons:—

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|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Sardar Bahadur Sir Dattarsing, | 6. Dr. N. S. Hardikar, |
| 2. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, | 7. Maulana Daud Gazanavi, |
| 3. Diwan Chamanlal, | 8. Dr. Gopichand Bhargav, and |
| 4. Kamraj Nadar, | 9. Mangaldas Pakwasa. |
| 5. Bhaktavatsalam, | |

V. J. Patel left for Bombay on the afternoon of October 24th.

Page 337, Para 998.

Poona, 3rd November 1945.—M. K. Gandhi saw several visitors during the week. It is learnt that one Aziz and Vethlingam of Ceylon saw Gandhi, and discussed with him the political situation in Ceylon, with particular reference to the Solubury Commission report.

Vallabhbhai Patel, who had been to Bombay for his 71st birthday celebrations, returned to Poona on November 3rd. Acharya J. B. Kripalani accompanied him.

Page 345, Para 1022.

Poona, 10th November 1945.—The following prominent persons saw Gandhi and V. J. Patel during the week:—

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|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. J. B. Kripalani, | 5. Mrs. Bose, |
| 2. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, | 6. B. G. Kher, |
| 3. R. R. Divakar, | 7. S. N. Agarwal, and |
| 4. Sarat Chandra Bose. | 8. D. B. Kalelkar. |

Sarat Chandra Bose is reported to have discussed with Gandhi and Patel the election prospects in Bengal and about Gandhi's proposed tour of that Province.

Page 355, Para 1051.

Poona, 17th November 1945.—M. K. Gandhi saw the following prominent persons during the week:—

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Pandit J. Nehru, | 4. D. P. Mishra (ex-Minister, C. P.), |
| 2. Professor R. V. Gogte, | 5. S. D. Deo, and |
| 3. Ravishankar Shukla (ex-Minister, C. P.), | 6. Madhavrao Bagal of Kolhapur. |

Pandit J. Nehru arrived in Poona on November 12th. He is reported to have had prolonged discussions with Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel during the day. He returned to Bombay the same night.

Page 365, Para 1074.

Poona, 24th November, 1945.—The following prominent persons saw Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel during the week:—

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|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Rt. Hon'ble Sir T. B. Saprú. | 4. R. R. Diwakar. |
| 2. Dr. Subbarayan, ex-Minister, | 5. D. P. Karmarkar, Madras. |
| 3. Barrister Tricumdas | Purushottam |

It is reported that Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú discussed with Gandhi and Patel on matters relating to the I.N.A. trial, present political situation and the ensuing elections. Gandhi and Patel left Poona for Bombay on November 19th.

Page 391, Para 1143.

Poona, 15th December, 1945.—His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Associated Chambers of Commerce and his interview with M. K. Gandhi at Calcutta have caused comment in the Hindu and Muslim Press.

Page 5, Para 13.

The *Samagra Gram Seva Shibir* at Wardha was opened by Professor Bhansali on the 12th January with 125 workers from different Provinces including States. Spinning and agriculture will form the main subjects in the curriculum and M. K. Gandhi who is a daily visitor to the camp, personally instructs trainees.

Page 7, Para 25.

Except in two districts there appears no intention on the part of Congressmen to observe Independence Day otherwise than in accordance with M. K. Gandhi's instructions. In these two districts the organisers have either been warned about the existence of orders under D.I.R. 56 or the subordinate police instructed to use their powers under D.I.R. 129 to prevent public demonstrations.

Page 7, Para 517.

Vide paragraph 13 current ward committees were formed in circles 1 and 3, Nagpur. In the course of an interview with Pralhad Mehta of Bombay, M. K. Gandhi is reported to have stated that he was averse to students participating in active politics, but desired them to make a close study of political events to enable them to become real patriots.

Page 15, Para 55.

Week ending February 3, 1945.—His Excellency the Governor's action in commuting the sentences of eight of the prisoners condemned to death in the Chimur and Ashti cases was widely appreciated, but it was felt in some quarters that there could be no jubilation over the matter so long as the remaining seven were still in the shadow of the gallows. In this connection N. S. Harkhare, Secretary, Capital Punishment Relief Society, interviewed M. K. Gandhi who advised him to see the Hon'ble Member of Commonwealth Relations, Viceroy's Executive Council and press him to use his influence to save the lives of the other seven villagers and were inconsistent with the extravagant claims made about them in the nationalist press.

The villages of Shegaon and Waruda near Wardha were selected by M. K. Gandhi for the inauguration of his new village uplift scheme and Rs. 1.500 were advanced to the villages for the purchase of cows and the erection of old mills.

On the 28th January, M. K. Gandhi addressing trainees of the *Samagra Gram Sewa Shibir*, emphasised the importance of co-ordinating activities in connection with the constructive programme and the need for trainees to dress alike and to observe discipline.

Page 23, Para 81.

February 17, 1945.—M. K. Gandhi addressed trainees on the termination of the *Samagra Gram Sewa Shibir* at Sevagram (Wardha) on the 11th February. He advised them to lead a simple life and set an example to villagers in respect of diet and dress, and to concentrate on communal unity, regardless of difficulties created by interested parties.

At a meeting of Provincial secretaries of the Kasturba National Memorial Fund held at Sevagram (Wardha) on the 15th and 16th February under the presidentship of A. V. Thakkar schemes for medical relief and education of women and children in villages were discussed. M. K. Gandhi attended and in a brief speech urged women to come forward to make the constructive programme a success.

Page 29, Para 103.

March 3, 1945.—A Hindusthani Prachar Sabha Conference was held at Wardha on the 26th and 27th February and was attended by 40 persons from all parts of India. M. K. Gandhi, who presided, stated that the absence of a common language was the cause of differences among the various communities in India. Resolutions were passed regarding the adoption of Hindusthani in the Deonagri and Urdu scripts as the national language, and the compilation of a Hindi dictionary.

Page 41, Para 162.

March 24, 1945.—M. K. Gandhi is reported to have informed some Congress M.L.As., who interviewed him in this connection, that he was opposed to the formation of a ministry in this province owing to the discord and disunity prevailing among Congressmen. Accordingly it is understood that this subject has been dropped for the present.

A meeting of trustees and provincial secretaries of the All India Spinners' Association was held at Sevagram (Wardha) on the 24th and 25th March under the presidentship of M. K. Gandhi, who explained that in future the production of *khadi* would form an integral part of his new village uplift scheme. He said that constructive work should be kept apart from politics, and that the adoption and fulfilment of his comprehensive fifteen-fold constructive programme would result in the achievement of *swaraj*....He said, that India had been enslaved so long that Indians had lost initiative and originality and were paralysed with despair. Constructive work could make no headway without a resuscitation of these lost qualities, and the attainment of political independence would be useless unless constructive work could be carried through to success.

It was decided to open a *Gram Sevak Vidyalaya* (village workers' training institute) at Sevagram, to introduce a system of training apprentices at various village centres and to decentralise the All India Spinners' Association.

Page 42, Para 170.

A Khaksar deputation headed by Muhammad Abdul Sharur of Ellichpur (Amraoti) waited on M. K. Gandhi at Sevagram (Wardha) on the 29th March and urged him to re-open negotiations with Jinnah for a communal settlement. Gandhi informed the deputation that the time was inopportune for such a move.

Page 65, Para 241.

May 5, 1945.—Ghanshyam Singh Gupta presided at a private meeting of the C.P. and Berar Congress Legislative Assembly Party held at Nagpur on the 10th instant. Seventeen members attended including H. J. Khandekar, working president of the All India Depressed Classes League who applied for admission to the party. M. K. Gandhi's views on the San Francisco Conference were endorsed and Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit was congratulated for giving publicity in America to Indian affairs and exposing British pro-

paganda. Mrs. Anusayabai Kale and V. R. Kalappa were deputed to inform M. K. Gandhi of the political situation in the province and they left for Mahabaleshwar on the 12th May. Discussion on the formation of a ministry and on the case of the condemned Ashti and Chimur prisoners was postponed till the 20th May when the next meeting would be held.

Page 72, Para 278.

June 2, 1945.—The condition, requiring purchasers to deposit 2 annas worth of hand spun yarn for every rupee's worth *khadi* purchased, is reported to have affected sales. M. K. Gandhi however refuses to relax this rule as he considers that Congressmen unwilling to spin yarn should give up the use of *khadi*.

Page 101, Para 399(e).

August 4, 1945.—In an interview with M. K. Gandhi during the week, R.S. Shukla, D. P. Misra and C. Rajagopalachariar are reliably reported to have pressed for the resumption of parliamentary activities in provinces on the ground that such a course would lend weight to any negotiations with the British Government and would help in weaning Muslims from the Muslim League by offering them seats in provincial cabinets. The matter was deferred till the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee. The subject of enquiries into the atrocities alleged to have been committed by Government servants in 1942 was also discussed, but a decision is not to be taken till the political situation has been further clarified.

M. K. Gandhi presided over the first meeting of the Hindusthani Prachar Sabha held on the 3rd instant at Sewagram (Wardha) at which it was decided to publish Hindusthani literature and dictionaries. S. N. Agarwal was elected general secretary, with headquarters at Sewagram. A sub-committee of five members, with Dr. Tarachand of Lahore as chairman, was formed with headquarters at Allahabad.

Page 110, Para 429(i).

August 18, 1945.—At a private meeting of the Harijan Sewak Sangh held at Bajajwadi (Wardha) from the 14th to the 16th, 36 Harijan workers from various parts of India were instructed to intensify efforts for the removal of the disabilities of the depressed classes. M. K. Gandhi said that individual *satyagraha* could be resorted to should the rights of untouchables not be obtained. A. V. Thakkar was authorised to draw up a reply to Dr. Ambedkar's book ' *What Congress of Gandhi did for the Untouchables.* '

Page 73, Para 173.

Poona, 23rd February, 1946.—M. K. Gandhi, with his followers, arrived in Poona on the evening of February 19th and put up at the Nature Cure Clinic. His primary object in visiting Poona was to make arrangements about the running of the clinic, which recently became the property of the Kasturba Memorial Fund.

Gandhi saw the following persons during the week:—

1. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali.
2. P. H. Patwardhan.
3. Four Afghan refugees in Poona and a few others.

He is reported to have had discussions with Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and the Afghan refugees.

On February 22nd, the death anniversary of his wife, he paid a visit to her tomb and that of Mahadeo Desai.

Page 81, Para 193.

Poona, 2nd March 1946.—M. K. Gandhi saw the following important persons during the week:—

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|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. H. H. The Aga Khan. | 5. Pandit J. Nehru. |
| 2. The Nawab of Bhopal. | 6. Vallabhbhai J. Patel. |
| 3. R. R. Divakar of Dharwar. | 7. D. B. Kalelkar. |
| 4. Damodhar Dasji of C. P. | |

Gandhi had prolonged deliberations with H. H. The Aga Khan and the Nawab of Bhopal on February 25th, 26th and on February 28th with Pandit J. Nehru and Vallabhbhai J. Patel. He also issued press statements referring to the R. I. N. strike and subsequent disturbances in Bombay.

Page 109, Para 246.

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Poona on March 11th. He attended the meetings of the Working Committee at Birla House, mainly in an advisory capacity. The four resolutions passed by the Working Committee were adopted on his advice. On March 14th, he addressed a large public meeting at Shivaji Park when he dwelt at length on *satyagraha*. He left Bombay for Poona on March 16.

Speech at Shivaji Park, Dadar.—"Satyagraha Has Its Roots in Prayer."

Mahatma Gandhi thanked the gathering for the atmosphere of silence and calm in which the prayers were conducted. The *Ram Dhun*, he said, was a vital part of the prayers. Not because it was full of Sanskrit words, but because it made it possible for the whole gathering actively to join in it. It was true that their attempts to take part in the *Ram Dhun*, were not completely successful. But it was because it was their first experience. It was his earnest desire that they must conduct their prayers at home, among friends and relations or wherever many men gather. Experience would show them that great results were achieved by prayers.

Enlarging on the same theme, Gandhi said that by prayer, willpower and mental concentration were developed. This lesson he had learnt during his experience over many years, from the time he first started *satyagraha*. The name *satyagraha* and its implications dawned on him first while he was in South Africa. Prior to this there was a considerable period of time when he had devoted himself to prayers. As a practising *satyagrahi* and the author of *satyagraha* he could say, that its seed lay in prayers. *Satyagraha* could be pitted against all earthly powers for it was a divine power. It derived its strength from on high. The real *satyagrahi*, got his strength in all thought and action from God.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that in South Africa the Indians were only a handful and the white rulers were in millions. What could a handful of Indians, mostly businessmen and working class persons, do against the armed might of the South African Government. The utmost that they could do was to plead with the Government power. The richer sections might even send deputations to England. Beyond that they could not go.

In these circumstances there was nothing that one could do. He could not give guns in the hands of this handful of men and say 'fight'. He could not drill them into an army and then parade them.

It was at such a time that it dawned on him that the greatest of all weapons the moral weapon, was still in their hands. Only they did not know how to use it. This, he said, was the beginning of *satyagraha*.

Expatiating on the theme, Gandhiji said that so far as purely animal functions like eating and breeding and living and dying were concerned there was no difference between man and beast and birds. But man rose

above them all, for he alone could recognise the good and the true, he alone could realise God.

These higher attributes of how to live worthy and lay down one's life nobly, were what *satyagraha* could teach man. There was an art in living and an art in dying also. A person who did not understand these twin arts, was no true *satyagrahi*. The burden of his prayers was that God may reveal to him how to live and how to die like a true *satyagrahi*.

Judged from these standards, the men who died in the recent disturbances had thrown away their lives. It was a waste of many lives.

Continuing he said, there was nothing worthy or artistic in looting shops, and exercising violence on the foreigners who were going about their business. The men who did it were no *satyagrahis*. The men who looked on without helping, were also no *satyagrahis*.

Concluding, the Mahatma said, that when the country realised how to live in accordance with the principles of *satyagraha*, how to sacrifice their lives for a truly great and noble cause, the face of India itself would be transfigured. There was no mightier force in the world than *satyagraha*.

In a brief reference to the impending Cabinet Mission to India the Mahatma counselled patience. He would indicate the next step if the Mission failed to implement the pledges and promises made to India.

Among those who were present on the rostrum were Sardar Patel, Major-General Shah Nawaz Khan and Lt-Col. Prem Kumar Sahgal of the I.N.A.

Page 171.

Bombay City, S. B. (I), March 16th.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Poona on March 11th. He attended the sittings of the Congress Working Committee held at Birla House, mainly to advise the members on the policy to be adopted in regard to the British Cabinet Mission and the food problem. On his advice, the Working Committee adopted the resolutions which have been reported to Government separately.

He addressed a largely attended public meeting at Shivaji Park on March 14th when he explained the implications of *satyagraha* and duties of a *satyagrahi* who is, according to him, not supposed to deviate a little from the path of truth and non-violence.

He left Bombay for Poona on March 16th. He is expected to be in Delhi by March 25th at the time of the arrival of the British Cabinet Mission. He has instructed the members of the Working Committee to be in readiness for a call from Delhi whenever required in connection with the negotiations.

Page 116, Para. 265.

Poona, 30th March 1946.—M. K. Gandhi who has been staying at Urali (Poona) since March 22nd saw the following visitors during the week:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Sorabji Rustomji. | 4. A. V. Thakkar. |
| 2. S. R. Naidu. | 5. Sudhir Ghosh. |
| 3. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani. | |

He presided over a meeting of provincial agents of the Kasturba National Memorial Trust on March 27th and 28th.

Page 67. Bombay City S. B., April 16th.

[*Vide* Para. III (2) of my W. L., dated April 10th]

CONGRESS AFFAIRS

During the week, Mr. Gandhi had a number of visitors at Bitla House including Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Babu Purshottamdas Tandon. His son Manilal Gandhi with his wife came to Birla House on April 14th and is expected to stay in India for about a year.

Mr. Gandhi visited the Women's Training Centre at Borivli on April 11th in company of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Purshottamdas Tandon and had his evening prayers at Borivli instead of in Bombay.

Meeting of the trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund was held at Scindia House on April 13th and was attended by Mr. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, Honourable Mr. Mavlankar, Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premila Thakersey. Several schemes for opening homes and dispensaries in rural areas for preventing spread of leprosy and for training nurses and opening classes in basic education were considered and approved of. They also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 36,300 for the maintenance of the control office.

As usual, daily evening prayers were held at Rungta House and were well attended. Besides the collections made for the Harijan Fund, a large sum was given by the Bullion Exchange for the use of the dependents of the seven Chimur and Ashti condemned prisoners.

Babu Purshottamdas Tandon and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had discussions with the local Congressmen on constructive programme.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan left for Delhi *en route* to Peshawar on April 15th Mr. Gandhi is expected to leave for Mahabaleshwar on April 20th.

Page 170, Para 654.

Week ending 1st December, 1945.—A meeting of the All India Spinners' Association was held in Sewagram (Wardha) on the 29th November under the presidentship of M. K. Gandhi. It was decided that the quota of yarn against the sale price be doubled with effect from 1st July 1946, and that 78,000 association be enrolled before next *Gandhi Jayanti*.

Page 21, Para 81.

Week ending February 9, 1946.—*En route* to Wardha, M. K. Gandhi briefly addressed about 10,000 persons at the Ballarshah Railway Station. He urged the use of *khadi*, pleaded on behalf of Harijans and condemned the black market. He said the British were going to quit but wanted to know if Indians would continue to exploit their brethren in the *swaraj* of the future. He was presented with a purse of Rs. 551.

Page 27, Para 107.

The second annual conference of the All India Go Sewa Sangh, attended by delegates from various provinces, was held at Wardha on the 11th and 12th February under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. M. K. Gandhi after advocating cow protection and improvement of the breed, referred to the food situation and urged economy in the use of grain. He averred that only a responsible Government at the centre could adequately meet the situation.

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